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Sir Edward Winter

From the monument in Battersea Parish Church

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1668–1669

B. 2544.

BY

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

31662 ac

Vol XIII

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH the present instalment covers only two years, its size nearly equals that of its predecessor, which dealt with three. This is due in part to the large amount of material available for the early history of Bombay, a subject which occupies nearly a third of the volume.

At the beginning of 1668 Bombay was still royal property and was being administered by Henry Gary, who had succeeded temporarily to the post of Governor upon the death of Sir Gervase Lucas in May, 1667. The fleet of the year, however, brought out the momentous intelligence that King Charles had granted the island to the East India Company; and on 23 September, 1668, Gary made over charge to John Goodier and three other commissioners sent from Surat for that purpose. Goodier became the first Deputy Governor (under the Surat President, Sir George Oxenden, as Governor); but his term of office lasted only till the following January, when he embarked for England and his place was taken by Henry Young, a passionate individual who was soon involved in quarrels with his subordinates. Young continued in charge till November, 1669, when he was recalled to Surat and the government of the island was committed to a commission, headed by James Adams. This arrangement held until the arrival, in January, 1670, of Gerald Aungier, who had succeeded, upon the death of Oxenden, to the dual post of President at Surat and Governor of Bombay. The detailed account now given of the events of the two years shows the attention bestowed, both by the Company and its Presidents, upon the development of the island. Schemes were made for the improvement of the revenues, the fostering of trade and manufactures, the encouragement of immigration, the administration of justice, and the introduction of a suitable currency. Substantial fortifications were erected, a number of English women were sent out with a view to their marrying the soldiers of the garrison, and orders were given that 'free burghers' were to be encouraged to settle there, with a view to making Bombay 'an English collony' (p. 240). One important factor in the development of the island was the Company's decision to forgo all customs on

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exports and imports for a period of five years, commencing 1 January, 1670 (p. 239).

These measures were watched with jealous eyes by the Mughal authorities at Surat, who recognized that sooner or later Bombay would become the head-quarters of the English in Western India, and who were moreover displeased to detect a tendency among the Hindus to take advantage of the security and the liberty of conscience offered to all comers on the island. The trouble thus caused to Sir George Oxenden was further aggravated by the claim of Gary to be the sole authority for granting English passes to Indian vessels, though fortunately he did not push this demand to extremities, and the action of the Surat factors in providing an escort into port for the royal ships coming from the Red Sea brought about a better atmosphere. Oxenden, early in 1669, paid a short visit to Bombay to settle matters there, and the report he sent home from thence (p. 93) evinces his deep interest in the development of the Company's new possession. After his return to Surat nothing of special importance occurred until his death in July, 1669. His burial was the occasion of a striking demonstration of the respect in which he was held, as well by the officials and inhabitants as by his fellow-countrymen.

Upon Oxenden's death the post of President fell naturally to Gerald Aungier, the senior member of the council. He was under thirty at the time and had not yet completed five years' service in India. He therefore expected to be superseded by someone of greater experience or higher standing; but fortunately the Company refrained from taking any such step and he remained at the head of affairs in Western India. His visit to Bombay as Governor has been mentioned already; and in this connexion it is worthy of note that it was still necessary for the President to obtain permission from the local authorities before quitting Surat. Apparently this had been the rule ever since the agreement of 1624 (*English Factories*, 1624–9, p. 29); but Aungier was promised that an imperial order would be obtained, giving leave to the President to visit Bombay whenever he pleased (p. 207). As regards the removal of the English head-quarters to that island, Aungier and his colleagues advised their employers not to think of taking such a step until

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Bombay was strongly fortified; 'and then the sooner the better (p. 208).

The persecution of the Hindus, due to the fanaticism of Aurangzeb, had a startling result at Surat in the autumn of 1669, when a large number of the inhabitants, including many of the principal merchants, shut up their houses and shops and quitted the town, proceeding to Broach. The demonstration was successful, and just before Christmas the Hindus returned, 'having received letters of favour from their King and some assurance of their safety and more freedome in their religion' (p. 205). We may also note an amusing instance of the venality of even the higher Mughal officials (p. 199). The Governor of Surat drew the English and Dutch into a plot to sell all their lead to the government at an enhanced price, 'provided he might have halfe the advantage'; and the bargain had been nearly carried through when it was stopped by an order from court, owing to the arrangement having been revealed by an official whom the Governor had neglected to square.

English trade with Persia was still in a languishing condition, and the small staff remaining in that country had little to do beyond endeavouring to recover as much as possible of the English share of the customs revenue at Gombroon. Plans for enforcing the payment of the full moiety were still being discussed by the Company with its servants at Surat, but no decision had been reached. Thomas Rolt was sent out from England by the fleet of 1668 to be Chief in Persia, but he was delayed by illness and did not leave Surat for Gombroon until the end of 1669. In the interim Stephen Flower continued to act in that capacity, and his letters contain much of interest regarding the internal condition of the country, the invasion of its northern provinces by the Uzbeg Tartars, the war in the Gulf between the Portuguese and the Arabs of Muskat, and a hitherto unknown embassy from Russia (p. 213).

Respecting the outlying factories on the Malabar Coast there is not much of special importance to chronicle. The Dutch were not so aggressive as formerly, for they were beginning to recognize that to monopolize the pepper trade in those parts was a task beyond their strength. On the other hand, fresh competitors had appeared in the shape of the French, who visited several of the ports, including

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Calicut, and procured leave to settle at various points along the coast. However, the English maintained their position at Calicut, re-established their factory at Kārwār, and in the summer of 1669 started a fresh one at Baliapatam, near Cannanore. Sivāji, though he gave much trouble to the Portuguese, remained fairly quiet during these two years. He seems to have been disposed to renew commercial relations with the English, but the latter held aloof, demanding compensation for previous losses before taking any steps to re-open intercourse; and at the mention of compensation Sivāji 'shooke his head and said noe more' (p. 116). At Calicut much trouble was caused in November, 1668, by a Mopla outbreak, due to the accidental wounding of a fisherman by an English soldier. As a result several Englishmen were injured and the lives of the rest were endangered. After the suppression of the riot the factors were insistent in their demands for the punishment of the ringleaders; but the authorities were evidently afraid to be rigorous, and in the end the matter was smoothed over.

On the eastern side of India the most striking event was the recovery of Madras. Early in 1668 a strong fleet was dispatched from England for that purpose, furnished with authority to use force, if necessary. Two of the vessels reached Madras in August; and Winter, recognizing that the game was up, surrendered the fort in return for an indemnity for himself and his associates, and a promise that their goods and money should not be confiscated. Foxcroft was released and reinstated as Agent, and matters went on much as they had done before the rebellion. Winter remained in India, engaged in realizing his estate and squabbling with Foxcroft until they both returned to England early in 1672. As regards external affairs the English were still troubled by demands from the Golconda authorities for the payment of half the customs revenue (in lieu of the fixed charge agreed upon in 1658) and for the admission of a native official to look after that share. In view of the growth of the commerce of the port, the requirement of an increased payment was not unreasonable, and it would have been wise to come to terms; but Foxcroft continued to procrastinate, alleging lack of authority, and it was left to his successor (Sir William Langhorn) to settle the dispute on the basis indicated.

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At Masulipatam, where William Jearsey was Chief throughout the two years, nothing occurred worthy of special note; and we hear chiefly of the bickerings between the factors and their disputes with the chaplain appointed from England. There must have been in the directorate some strong sympathizers with the extreme Puritan wing of the clergy, for no less than four chaplains were sent out in 1668 who objected to use the prescribed liturgy. This was resented by many of the factors, and drew from the President and Council at Surat a dignified protest regarding the two ministers selected for Bombay. Of the other two, the one appointed to Madras was accepted without much murmuring, owing to the influence of Foxcroft, to whom his doctrine was apparently not unpalatable; but the Rev. Walter Hook, who was sent to Masulipatam, had a different reception. On page 285 we have a lively description of a scene at one service, when Jearsey refused to listen to the chaplain's 'prating' and walked out of the room. Several of the factors had already protested to the Company against the appointment both of Hook and of Thomson (the Madras chaplain), and had moreover (to the great annoyance of their employers) complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury, suggesting episcopal control of future appointments (p. 160). The upshot was that the King ordered the recall of both ministers. Before quitting the subject we may note that, in the factories where there was no chaplain, the Company's directions that prayers be said every morning and evening were frequently disregarded. Challenged on the point by a fault-finding colleague, Bridges, the Agent in Bengal, admitted that such was the case there and argued that 'in these hot countries' divine service once a week was as much as could be endured (p. 298).

This brings us to the settlements in Bengal. William Blake remained Agent there until the spring of 1669, when he surrendered the post to Shem Bridges, though he did not leave Balasore (which was virtually the head-quarters of the Agency throughout the period) until the following December. In the interim occurred many disputes between the two, particularly regarding some boxes, supposed to contain jewels, which had been entrusted to Blake by the late Mīr Jumla's factotum. Bridges was also much embarrassed by insubordination on the part of several of the factors. Points of

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special interest are (1) the deputation sent to Dacca in 1669 under John March, who succeeded in procuring a fresh *parwāna* from the Nawāb Shāista Khān, and (2) the measures taken to provide trained pilots to take the ships up to Hūgli, instead of their remaining at Balasore.

A memorable change of policy was announced by the Company in its letters of March, 1669. The not infrequent practice of sending out men of mature years, who were to go over the heads of many already in the service, was to be dropped, and only juniors were to be appointed in the future; while promotion was to be by seniority, subject to fitness. Another concession made about this time was allowing the factors to have their wives with them in the East. The Company could hardly do otherwise, in view of their policy of sending out women to Bombay; but it was found that the arrangement did not always make for harmony in the various settlements, and in November, 1668, the 'Committees' had to threaten to recall any women who proved to be 'instruments of contentions' (p. 281).

Among minor points attention may be directed to the statement on page 79 regarding the superiority of India-built vessels over European for navigation in eastern waters: a suggestion for ballasting outgoing ships with coal (p. 84): the efforts made to secure the release of the English captives in Ceylon (pp. 144, &c.): the account given of a cyclone at Madras (p. 154): the fresh evidence as to the origin of the local name for Madras (p. 291 *n.*): and the identification of the captain of the *Antelope* as the future Sir John Goldsborough (p. 314 *n.*).

The frontispiece of this volume represents the bust of Sir Edward Winter that surmounts his monument in Battersea parish church. This illustration has already appeared in Col. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*.

With the termination of this (the thirteenth) volume, the editor gives up a task which has occupied much of his time for over twenty years. Arrangements are being discussed for continuing the work, and it is hoped that these will be of such a nature as to permit of its progress being considerably accelerated.

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1668–69

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1668

THERE is a scarcity of first-hand information concerning the course of events at Surat during this important year. The *Original Correspondence* series yields little; the Register of Consultations contains only a dozen entries; the Register of Letters Sent from Surat is lost; and the corresponding record of the letters received is of course chiefly useful as regards what was happening at the places of origin. Nevertheless, from such materials as remain it is still possible to trace the main features of the story.

At the beginning of the year Sir George Oxenden was still President, and the Council was composed, as before, of John Goodier, Gerald Aungier, and Randolph Taylor. The report made by them to the Company on 22 January, 1668, in a letter sent overland, has been dealt with on p. 281 of the preceding volume. Two other letters were dispatched by the same route on 28 March and 15 April respectively; but of these only extracts (or paraphrases) survive. The one taken from the first of these letters is exclusively concerned with the new French factory at Surat, and runs as follows:

The 2d of the passed moneth arrived a French shipp, of burthen 5 in 600 tuns, with their great Directour and Generall, the Heer Charoon,[1] a Dutchman, formerly Second of Battavia, that hath the generall dispose of their businesse att present; but there is another, who is a Frenchman, that is expected in September next, who is said to be equall in quallity with him and to goe hand in hand in the transactinge all affairs. He it is that is to bringe the great present for the Kinge and the rest of the nobility; of which they have already much boasted, telling the Kings Intellingencer[2] of this place in discourse that somewhat is provideinge for the Kinge that a thousand men have bin 5 years in workeing, but have not said what; we suppose some tapistry. Yet, notwithstanding all their great promises, they were but meanly received, and since in this little tyme of being here very much slighted by all conditions of

[1] François Caron.

[2] See the previous volume, p. 61.

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people, that dayly cast out ill presages of them. The particulers of the shipps cargoe, amounting to about 45,000*l.*, a list thereof we have here inclosed, and annexed to it the severall particulers bought here that they have already laden, designing the shipp to Madagascar backe again in few dayes, and thence (we suppose) to Europe; declareing to have bin 22 moneths from France, of which was spent four from Madagascar hither. They doe all exceedingly complayne of that island, saying there was never such a cheat putt uppon a nation as the report given of it to the French Kinge; and that of 11 or 1200 men, women, and children that they brought out, designinge to plant there, with a Vice King intended to be their Governour, there is not the halfe of them left alive; which they impute to the badnes of the water and infectiousnes of the aire; but we conceave it rather the want of necessaries and good provisions to preserve them, of which we heare they are in [so ?] great want that a hen is sold for 2 or 3 dollers and other things have noe price. For the natives of the countrey have served them as some of us remember once they did our people some years since, that intended a plantation and went about to settle first in Augustine Bay; perceaving our intentions of gettinge footing uppon the island, [they] became very treacherous and carried away their cattle and whatever elce, insoemuch that our people, not being preadvised, fell to great want and severall of them starved, and att last were forced to quitt the place, etc. It is the opinion of all the towne that these new comers will never settle here, but that they will play one unhandsome pranke or another, and soe desert the countrey; for they will certainly obstruct the Companyes trade in an extraordinary manner, not onely by causing a glutt of these Indian commodityes in Europe, but raising of their prises here, for, notwithstanding the Dutch and we have totally layd downe all investments of what kinde soever, yet hath the price of goods risen from 25 per cent. to 50 and 60 that we have knowne them buy att. The French present cargoe will amount to betwixt 25 and 30,000*l.* The most of any thinge they have bought is indicoe Lahore, of which they have purchased 400 bales.

The extract from the letter of 15 April is also mainly about the French:

The Dutch now, together with the French, will be our competitours in all that we shall enter uppon; which must certainly raise the price of commodityes. They [i. e. the Surat factors] hope the Companyes shipps will arrive tymely and returne as soone or near the tyme the French shipp now bound for St. Lawrence

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[i.e. Madagascar] to winter shall be able to gaine Europe, etc. The French are fallen all to peeces amongst themselves, and little better then mutinyed against their great Directour, the Heer Charoon, the mounseers accounting it very dishonourable to be att the dispose and command of a Dutchman and an heretique (as they would have it); which hath raisd their differences to that height that the Armenian,[1] who was next in Councell to the Directour, was clapt up close prisoner, and since putt in irons and sent aboard their shipp, etc. The French creditt is totally overthrowne in Surratt. The Dutch have but one shipp this yeare, come from Japan, which arrived here single. Her cargoe is the same they use to bring in the qualitye, but much short of the quantitye. We finde them droop in these parts; but they will soone gett upp again, now there is peace, etc.

By the same conveyance was probably sent a note from Aungier, which is entered at p. 22 of the same volume (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2). This gives the prices at Surat in 1667 of both European and Indian commodities. Of the former, broadcloth was fetching 5 rupees a yard, perpetuanoes from 24 to 30 rupees per piece, vermilion 66 rupees a maund, quicksilver 73 rupees a maund, brimstone $2\frac{3}{4}$ rupees a maund, alum $4\frac{1}{4}$ rupees per maund, grezio coral from 10 to 16 rupees per seer, recadutti coral from 5 to 7 rupees per seer, teraglia coral from 30 to 32 rupees per maund, amber from 5 to 12 rupees per seer, lead 5 rupees per maund, tin $14\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per maund, European copper 22, and Japanese copper 18 rupees per maund. Of Indian goods calicoes were 'reasonable cheape'. Stick-lac was fetching $3\frac{1}{4}$, seed-lac and shell-lac 4 rupees per maund. Ambergris cost 7 to 9 rupees per tola, musk 3 to 4 rupees per tola, and bezoar stones $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per tola. The following were the rupee prices per maund of other goods: aloes socotrina, 10; aloes epatica, 5; turmeric, 1; olibanum, 2; myrrh, 8; cowries, $4\frac{1}{4}$; camphor, 35; 'tincall' (borax), 16; Agra indigo, 35; round Ahmadābād indigo, 13; flat ditto, 12 and 13; saltpetre, 4.

We obtain another glimpse of the arrival of the French from a letter in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. xi, f. 53), written by Henry Gary at Bombay to the Earl of Clarendon on 22 March, 1668.

Here passed by lately two French shipps for Surratt, one of 700 tonns and 50 gunns, the other of smaller burden. They brought

[1] Markara, who had been engaged in Paris on the strength of his knowledge of Eastern trade.

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with them a Cheife, one Charoon, of French extract but borne in Holland, and by the Hollanders formerly employed as Cheife of Japan and Second in Batavia. Their ladeing is amber (rough and wrought), corall, lead, bullion, etc., and other usuall Europe comodities (English cloth only excepted). Of whome the Dutch are not overfond, there being observed in Surrat a great estrangednesse between them and mutual suspicion; and, saveing the compliments of the first day of their arrival at Swally (where the French were a little sullen and expectant of more honour then the Dutch thought theire due), noe great civilities have been exchanged between them; and tis beleived underhand the Dutch will doe them all the prejudice imagionable, as those that will disturbe all the trade in these parts. They brought with them for factories some 80 men, not all French but an hetrogenious misscellany and patch'd oglio [1] of all nations. It is my opinion they will quickly breake in pieces. They came from St. Laurence (or the Dauphin, as they will now call it); [2] which place [3] is in a very valentudinary condition, 10 or 12 men dyeing in a day; the aire very insalubrious; provizions very deficient, the natives very surly and driveing up their cattell into the country; so that they are to bee supplyed by the speedy retourne of one of these shipps with provizions and quilts.

Gary repeated these particulars in a letter of the same date to Lord Arlington (*ibid.*, ff. 58, 60), and added that ' one of their cheife is an Armenian '. Another reference to the subject occurs in a letter from Aungier at Surat to Gary, dated 20 February, 1668 (*ibid.*, f. 30), which says that ' the French bragg'd of a great stocke in bullion; but none being yet brought on shore, their honesty and honour begins much to be questioned '.

Of the Dutch at Surat Gary had something to say in a letter to Joseph Williamson of 7 January (*ibid.*, f. 55). Four Dutch ships, he said, had reached Swally, ' where soe soone as they were welcomed by the Commandore with the tideings of their countrymens actions at Chatham, [they] thundered out their joy with their cannon for a whole day and night.' A subsequent note of 22 March to the same correspondent (*ibid.*, f. 56) adds:

The four Dutch shipps . . . brought with them from Batavia

[1] Medley (Port. *ohla*). [2] The French renamed Madagascar l'Isle Dauphine.

[3] Fort Dauphin, the French head-quarters, situated in 25° S. latitude on the south-east coast of the island.

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a new Commandore,[1] very ill complexioned towards the English, as haughty in the stature of his proud mind as low in that of his despicable body. A great pudder [2] hee made to freight his shipps advantagiously for Persia; but a bruit being blown abroad of 11 English shipps of warre, under the conduct of Capt. Harman, waiting at the Line, the Surrat merchants would not venture their goods with them. And after much entreaty and humbling themselves below the state of the Hogen Mogen,[3] at length they gott some inconsiderable ladeing, but upon condition that their ships should not budge out of the rivers mouth till the time was expired for the commencement of the peace in these parts; which the Dutch till then would not by any means acknowledge.

As regards the proceedings of the English factors, our chronicle does not begin effectively until 7 May, when the 'pink' (i. e. a small ship) *Bantam* [4] arrived at the mouth of the Tāpti, bringing a letter from the Company of 4 October, 1667, together with a copy of another which had been dispatched overland on 26 August preceding, but had failed to reach its destination. Abstracts of both these communications will be found at pp. 278–80 of the last volume; and from these it will be seen that the chief items of intelligence they contained were that peace had been concluded with the Dutch, that the Company now intended to push its operations with vigour, and that three ships would be dispatched to Surat in the following spring. The effect of these 'glad tydings' is seen in the record of a consultation held in Surat on 14 May,[5] which begins by rejoicing at the arrival of a ship at

a season unusuall and altogether unexpected . . . after wee had sat downe some time in a deepe melancholly, for want of their commands by way of Aleppo, all shipping being returned from Persia this monzone; that, had not this vessaile arrived thus seasonably with their orders, wee should have been sadly perplext, and could

[1] Andries Bogaard, who succeeded Dirck Van Adrichem. [2] Pother, or fuss.

[3] From the title (*Hoogmogendheiden*, 'Their High Mightinesses') of the States-General. The term was often applied contemptuously to Dutchmen in general, when reproaching them for their supposed pride.

[4] A detailed account of her cargo will be found at p. 70 of *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xv. Similar invoices for the *American, African, St. George, Dorcas, Constantinople Merchant*, and *Return*, all sent out during 1665–7, are included in the same volume—a point that was not noticed until too late for record in the last instalment of the present series. They are of much interest as giving in detail the cost of the goods embarked.

[5] Printed in Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay State Papers, Home Series*, vol. i, p. 212.

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not have complyed with them in the provission of severall goods by these their advices required for the lading home those ships they promise to send us, to be here in August or September. And although we have kept a contynnued investment on foot in most places (that we might as well keepe the weavers to us as support the credit of the Company in these late times of warr, when we have the French setled here and competitors with us in our trade, as well as the Dutch), yet we finde it fall short of the tunnage the Company designe us. Which consideration occasioned this consultation; where it was concluded that, if wee doe not now commence our investments for the shipping that shall be sent us in the year 1669, we shall not be capable of furnishing the Company with such sortments of clothing as they usually require, nor compleet the tonnage we may expect from them; seing the French have great investments on foote and are a great obstruction to us, they buying the same sorts of goods as wee doe. Wherefore we resolve to enter speedily thereon, and give our imediate orders for the provission of chints and quilts in Ahmedabad for the following yeare (wee having our complement ready for the expected ships), this being the season that cloth is prepared to receive the tincture.

The voyage of the *Bantam* was described in a letter which her captain, William Barker, addressed to the Company from Swally Hole on 16 October, 1668. This states that on 8 May the vessel was piloted over the bar and up the river to 'Kirkar,[1] alias Kings Bunder', where most of her cargo was unloaded.

The 15th, sailed from Kings Bunder and anchored against Suratt towne; where, and att the English Bunder, wee remained untill the 28th of August; then came out of the dock. In which time buried three men, our gunner being one; not one man of the ships company butt sick more or lesse.

To resume our chronicle of events. On 6 July a contract was signed with Pīru Hingola and his sons to procure the Agra commodities required for England. They were to provide 16,000 pieces of Daryābād calicoes (half of them 'great' and half 'small') and 8,000 pieces of 'mercoles'; also 200 bales of indigo, at a price not exceeding 34 rupees the Surat maund. The goods were to be delivered at Surat by April, 1669, the contractors bearing all risks till then, except detention on the score of 'old debts due from our nation, either from the Company or particular persons, as that of

[1] See the preceding volume, p. 25.

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Mr. William Jessons debt'. Should the goods arrive too late to be shipped, the President and Council were not to be obliged to accept the Daryābāds, though they would take the rest. An advance of ten thousand rupees was to be made to the contractors, who would also be allowed interest on any money advanced by them beyond that amount. The Council further agreed to refund the cost of carriage, &c., on the way down, and to pay a brokerage of ten per cent.

At the end of the same month the Council met again to consider certain letters received from 'Governor Gary' of Bombay.[1] His first demand was that the next ship dispatched to England should be instructed to call at Bombay for his letters to the King; to this it was agreed, provided that no order from the Company to the contrary was received. His second demand was for the 1,000*l.* which the Company had agreed to advance, on account of His Majesty (see the preceding volume, p. 273); to this it was decided to reply that the President and Council were ready to pay the money, either in dollars (half Seville and half Mexican) or in rupees. The third demand was a more troublesome one, for it revived Gary's previous claim to be recognized as the sole authority for the issue of passes to Indian vessels (see the preceding volume, p. 274).

The receipt of some letters by the *Charles* directed to Sir Gervase Lucas, and others to himselfe, from the Court, hath so elevated him, now (hee says) hee sees His Majesties interresse is like to take roote and flourish, that hee cannot be defective in a point so much tending to His Majesties honour as not to have his authoritie acknowledged to reside at Bombaym; which must no longer be disputed, and hopes it will not be ill resented that hee renewes his demands concerning the passes, which, though it hath layen dormant a while, is not deceased; and doubts not but our zeale to His Majesties grandeur will encline us to acquiesce therein. Our passes were indeed sommond by him the last yeare; when wee let him know (what before hee well understood) how prejudiciall it would be to the Companies affaires here, yet wee would be so observant as not to contradict His Majesties orders, and declared then to relinquish our right to them, if hee had His Majesties commission for it; but untill hee had such, wee entreated him to forbeare troubling us.

[1] The proceedings are printed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi, pt. i, p. 26, and also by Sir George Forrest (*op. cit.*, p. 215) from the copy in the Bombay Record Office. The extracts given below are reproduced from the latter version.

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But hee, to shew his owne grandeur and to lessen our esteeme with these people, not only renewes his demands of the passes from us but (unknowne to us) hath wrote letters in Persian to the Governour, Shawbunder, and all the merchants in the towne who are owners of jounks, commanding them to fetch their passes from him, in whome the supreme power resides: that His Majestie intended to make the port of Bombaym the flourishingst port in India: and that hee is setting out an armada to scoure the coasts from pirats. These his letters have put the towne in an uproare and raised such jealousies [i.e. suspicions] in the Kings ministers that wee have been often sent for by the Governour and upbraided that wee, who had received such signall favours and immunities from the King and enjoyed a peaceable and flourishing trade in this his port and other his dominions so many yeares, were now destroying this port to set up one of our owne; telling us how ill the King would resent this business; wondering very much that hee should set out an armada to scoure their seas, who never desired any such kindness from him. Nor would the Governour believe but hee was revolted and set up for himselfe, and those his armada were pirats intended to robb the jounks of the Kings port. But the President did assure him hee [Gary] had no such intentions, nor could such a *thing* be. To which the Governour hastily retorted: what (saith hee) cannot bee? Did you never heare of a sonne who put his father in prizon? Hee was very inquisitive after the scituation of the island: its bigness: what townes and houses: how inhabited: but more especially after the fortifications, being tould by the man who brought the letters that they had built a castle; which wee would not understand, but palliated the business what might be. And after that the President had urgently prest him to let the merchants fetch their passes from thence, telling him that, hee being the Kings minister, it would be rather safer for them then if they received them from us, hee dismist us for that time, telling us the business was of no small consequence and would highly incense the King. And not being satisfied with our evading his discourse about their building fortifications, hee sent the pattamarr that brought his letters with his broker home to our howse to justifie it. This past, hee summons all the Kings officers and the merchants of the towne to the Kings durbarr; where when they had consulted about the business, wee were sent for againe. The Governour then asking the President who Mr. Gary was, hee told him hee was a person of honour and the Kings governour of the island. Then hee askt whether hee were greater then wee. The President answered yea, as himselfe and the Kings ministers were superiour to the mer-

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chants of the towne. Yet some of the merchants, knowing him [Gary], ceased not [to] set him at naught with much earnestness, declaring they would receive none of his passes; although wee often prest them to it, as a thing that might conduce more to their peaceable navigation then if they received ours. But nothing that wee could plead for it would prevaile with them; they telling us that wee in our articles had oblidged to give them passes here, and, as wee had contynnued so to doe even to this day, so would they still expect them from us while wee remayne in their port. To which the President answered that, when those articles were made, there was no other interress in these parts but the Companies; but now there is another of the Kings, which ought to have the greater respect, and to which wee must submitt. But this swayd not any thing with them; but to those articles they would still bind us; while wee reside and trade in their country they would goe no further for their passes; the Governour telling us, should they submitt to it, tomorrow the Dutch would send them to Batavia and the French to Madagascar for their passes. And if you shall object (said they) that wee send to Goa for the Portugall passes, 'tis because they have none of their people reside in our country for trade; if they did, wee would make them give us passes here. To conclude, the Governour first, in behalfe of the King and port, and the Shawbunder for the merchants, gave us this possitive answere: that, as they had ever received their passes from us in this port, so would they still demand them; and if wee refused to give them, they would send their vessells to sea without them; where if in their navigating any jounk or the least boat did receive any disturbance from any of our nation, they bid us looke to it, for they would have full satisfaction from us. And then the Kings Intelligencer required our possitive answere, that hee might write our resolutions up to the King. But, foreseeing the danger of the Kings displeasure and the hazzard of the Companies estate thereby, the President desired the Governour, the Intelligencer, etc. to suspend their resolution of advising the King of this business untill hee had wrote to the Governour of Bombaym and used his endeavours with him, declaring this was newly happened and without his knowledg; which being granted, wee tooke our leave. Since, they have been enquiring very narrowly after the condition of the island; and the Kings Intelligencer sent the President word that hee must advise the King of their fortifying, least hee suffer under the Kings displeasure, as his predecessour had done, for neglecting it. By all that wee have here collected, 'tis perspicuous that this King and his ministers have a jealous eye upon His Majesties

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island and port of Bombaym, and will have farr greater (wee pray God it extend not to the loss of it and our trade in his dominions) when he shall come to read those immature unseasonable letters of Governour Garys sent to his ministers here, in a tyme when the place is not in a condition to be defended against the armes of so powerfull a king, bordering upon them, from whose country they are stored with all manner of provisions. Nor can wee imagine what future troubles this may bring upon us in our persons; wee must certainly expect great in the Companies affaires. So that, having fully debated this business, wee conclude to send Governour Gary a narrative of these proceedings, that hee may see into what a labyrinth of troubles hee hath involv'd us, endangering the Companies estate and privilledges and (wee fear) His Majesties island; and to entreat him once more not to mollest us and obstruct the course of our trade, but to deferr his pretences to the passes to a more convenient opportunitie, unless hee have His Majesties possitive order to command us to lay them downe, to which wee shall most humbly submitt, being readie to sufferr all manner of wayes rather then disobey His Majestie; desiring him to send us that clause which warrants him to his demands for our securitie; telling him that, unless it be expresly commanded from the Court, wee cannot answere it, not having yet received anything to warrant us to take our orders from him, but the Company, grounded upon their charter. That which caused our further debate was Governour Garys recommending Mr. Hinmers and Mr. Evance to us for their passage home upon their [the ?] first shipp. The two merchants were employed by Mr. Andrewes on the shipp *Love*, in a designe so destructive to the Companyes interrest that wee wonder how in modestie they can expect it upon the Companyes ships. To this it was concluded answere should be given that wee dare not permitt it without incurring the Companyes displeasure; nor will there be accommodation for them in the first shipp, by reason that some of the Companyes factors will take their passage on her for England; yet not to give them a possitive denyall, but referr to our advices expected by the ships, when, if wee be not enjoynd the contrary, we shall further advise them.

Fearing lest his action should be represented to King Charles by the East India Company in an unfavourable light, Gary took care to place his own view of the matter before Lord Arlington in a letter (Public Record Office: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi, f. 105) dated 10 October, though written (as regards this portion) at a rather earlier date. In this he said that, following the policy adopted by his predecessors,

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he had thought it well, upon entering upon the government, to require the Surat Council to discontinue the issue of passes, as the sole right to do this was inherent in the King's representative. The request, he said, was made in 'a civill and modest letter', to which the President replied 'with a great deale of passion'. Unwilling to pursue the controversy at a time of difficulty, he postponed further action until the conclusion of peace with the Dutch, when he renewed the claim. He had no self interest in view, for the Governor would derive no personal emolument from the issue of passes; but he considered that the point was of great importance, as affecting the dignity of the King. The plea that the Company's servants had exercised the privilege for a long time was of no avail in law against the royal claim; while their appeal to the charter of 1661 was equally invalid, as the case was altered now that 'the King hath footing heere, and that, I hope, a firme one'. In Gary's opinion the Company's servants were

> well contented to looke upon poore Bombaim as an ungrowing dwarfe that should ever bee at a stand; and would much rejoyce to see this royall plant continue ever but a shrub, while the Companies interesse may shoot up to a cedar. What finesse and artifice they have used privately with the grandees of Suratt, the Kings ministers and merchants, to discontent them at my proposal of the passes, I am very satisfied by the constant tenor of their practise; while in the meane time their letter to mee hath contained nothing but the Governours threats and menaces, which I have cause to belive they have putt him upon and hee moves therein only on their wire, though their pretences are that they have endeavoured to satisfie him and to slake his fury. Yett I may not conceale that the natural interesse of Suratt, abstracted from the complexe concernes of the Company, will move them to jealousies and obstructions of the growth and flourishing of Bombaim; so that, could their power strike tallies with their envey, they would leave us no possibility of ever advancing the fame and fortunes of this island, whose bucket while it ascends, theirs, they thinke (and it may bee wisely), must descend.

A further consultation was held in Surat on 25 August, occasioned by a request from 'the Governour, the Shawbunder, and the rest of the Kings officers of this towne' that the *Bantam* should be sent out to bring in 'the Kings junks' expected from the Red Sea, and

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to protect them against some pirates [1] said to be lying in wait for them. The request was backed by a promise to inform the King of this piece of service and by an intimation that such assistance was expected as a return for the recent reduction of customs dues (see the preceding volume, p. 274). With the concurrence of the commander, who was present, it was decided to comply.

For it doth at this time more especially concerne us to ingratiate ourselves into the favour of the King and people, who were soe lately disgusted at us, by reason of the commands imposed on them by the Governour of Bombaym to fetch their passes from him, in a stile soe majestique that it will highly incense the King, the effects of whose anger we may expect. . . . Soe that wee are glad to embrace this service of putting forth the pinke, that the King, hearing of our readinesse to preserve his peoples interesse, may mitigate his displeasure against us; and wee shall alsoe much oblidge his ministers here in their affections to us and the dispatch of our buisynesse upon any urgent occations.

Richard Francis, one of the factors, was ordered to embark in the *Bantam* to assist Barker, and twelve lascars were sent on board to reinforce the crew. The captain was instructed to stop and examine all vessels met with. Those provided with an English pass were to be allowed to proceed unmolested.

But if you shall encounter any that have not, and can master them, bring them with you; especially if you can learne they belong to any port betwixt this and Goa. For there are many sea ports belonging to our implacable enemy Savaje, with whom wee would gladly quitt scores, for hee hath bin greatly in our debt these many years.

Care was to be taken that the cargoes of such prizes should not be embezzled, 'for it is very probable the vessell soe taken may be restored againe'. As an encouragement a promise was given that, should it prove in the end that the capture was 'good and lawfull prize', the captain and crew should receive the accustomed proportion of the value.

[1] In the instructions given to Capt. Barker (29 August) these pirates were said to be 'Vaddellas' and 'Sungannas'. By those terms are meant the Vāghers (or Vādhels) and the Sangāras (or Sanganis) who both inhabited the north-west corner of Kāthiāwār and were noted pirates. See the *Bombay Gazetteer: Kāthiāwār*, pp. 164–6, and Ovington's *Voyage*, p. 438. The 'Voddellers' are mentioned at pp. 78, 80 of the 1655–60 volume of this series, where it is wrongly suggested that they came from Gwādar.

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The *Bantam* sailed accordingly on 29 August, and returned a little later with the two royal junks.[1] Subsequently she was employed with another vessel to take possession of Bombay; while later still she made a voyage down the Malabar Coast. Both these expeditions will be dealt with in the succeeding chapters.

At the beginning of September the *Constantinople Merchant*, 400 tons, under Samuel Ward, arrived from England. Her two consorts, the *Rebecca*, 200 tons (Capt. William Badiley), and the *Return*,[2] 380 tons (Capt. William Whitehorn), had dropped behind during the voyage and did not reach Swally until the middle of November. She brought a long letter from the Company, dated 27 March, 1668, part of which concerned Bombay and will be dealt with in the next chapter. An account was given of the cargoes of the three vessels, totalling 72,386*l.*,[3] and consisting of broadcloth (12,479*l.*), fine cloth (942*l.*), 'perpetuanoes' and 'rashees' (1,048*l.*), copper plates (6,005*l.*), tin (2,995*l.*), lead (3,138*l.*), quicksilver (7,748*l.*), vermilion (1,031*l.*), alum (449*l.*), brimstone (244*l.*), elephants' teeth (4,018*l.*), coral (736*l.*), sword-blades (91*l.*), rials of eight (17,000*l.*), silver ingots (5,171*l.*), gold coins and ingots (8,993*l.*), and sundries (297*l.*). It was explained that extra quantities of 'substantiall Europe comodities' had been sent, on the supposition that 'your marketts will be bare of them', owing to the long cessation of supplies. The broadcloth, woollens, tin, lead, alum, and other English products might be sold at a very moderate rate of profit, to encourage trade in them ('that wee may send out the lesse bullion'). The tin had been provided ('being cheape at present') in the hope that its goodness would enable it to compete with that from 'Syam and Cocheene' [Cochin China] and lead to further trade in that article; for this purpose it might be sold at a price just sufficient to cover prime cost, interest, and the charges in India. Several sorts of copper had been sent, and the factors should advise which 'turnes best to accompt'. This and any other foreign commodity should be sold at a greater profit than 'our owne native comodities, in reguard wee must buy them abroad and beare their

[1] 'Such poore spirrited people these are', commented the Surat Council in a letter to Bantam (24 Feb. 1669), 'to accept for convoye soe small a vessell of 8 gunns, whereas the least of them was upwards of 600 tonnes.'

[2] The invoices for all three ships are entered in *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xv, pp. 107, 118, 135.

[3] Here, as elsewhere in such cases, values are given to the nearest pound.

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adventures to England'. A large quantity of coral had been bought at Leghorn, but it was feared that this would not arrive in time; in that case a greater supply would be sent by the succeeding fleet. As regards returns for England, the factors were encouraged to make timely investments beforehand, without waiting for specific instructions.

Wee understand that the French doe much endeavour to gaine admission of a trade with you, though they have little encorage-ment thereunto. Wee have advice that the severall ships that they set out the former yeare designed for India, having their people very sickly, put in first to Brazill and afterward to Madagascar, where they landed their men; from whence some of their ships returned home, and whither any of them proceeded to India wee know not.[1] If any of them have bin or shall come to your port, as it is not our interest to encorage them in the trade of India, so on the other side, there being peace betweene our Kings Majestie and their King, soe doe noe act against them (so long as it shall last) that may be ground of a just complaint in Europe.

The Surat factors had expressed a fear that they would be required to pay a private debt incurred by the late Mr. Jesson, and had asked leave to make a bold stand against such demands, using force if necessary. To this the Committees replied by leaving their servants a free hand in dealing with such claims, confiding in their 'prudence and discretion'. At the same time the factors were instructed to republish the declarations formerly made, that the Company would admit no liability for the private debts of its servants. With regard to the pepper at Calicut, it was hoped that, now the war was over, no difficulty would be experienced in recovering both that and the stock at Porakād. Care should also be taken to arrange for an ample yearly supply of pepper from that coast. The President and Council were also to advise whether it would not be better to place the factory at 'Caile Velha' (Old Kāyal) under their supervision instead of under that of the Madras Agency, seeing it was easier to transport goods from thence to Surat than to Fort St. George. With regard to the claims against Revington's estate, any judged to be

[1] This was the fleet which left France in 1666 under the Marquis de Mondevergue. Some months were spent at Pernambuco and it was not until the end of February, 1667, that the ships reached Fort Dauphin, the French settlement in Madagascar. There the colony was found to be in such a desperate state that only in October was it found possible to dispatch part of the fleet to Surat, as already related.

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well founded should be paid; 'but wee find that, when any person is deceased, that those natives doe make large demaunds upon them; and therefore you ought to bee the more carefull to doe right on both sides.' With reference to 'Mr. Clarke' and his prohibited goods taken out in the *St. George*, it was regretted that the information came too late to enable the goods to be seized.

Wee have not yet ended the accompt with Capt. Lord; but you may see by this practize how impossible it is for us to prevent the goeing out of persons or prohibited goods, and therefore desire your care to find out all prohibited goods and to cause them to pay the mulcts; or, if you have information of any that you cannot come to seize, that then you give us full advice of the perticuler quantities and quallities, on what ships they came, and to whome they belong.

The method suggested for packing quicksilver, viz. in copper pots soldered at the top, had been tried and found too expensive; so the Dutch plan of using stone bottles had been adopted, as both better and cheaper. Since vermilion was not much in demand at Surat, a reduced supply would be sent in future. With respect to the complaint that the masters of the ships were in the habit of undoing bales and shooting the contents loose into the hold to save space (see the preceding volume, p. 167), strict orders should be given at the time of lading that the goods be stowed exactly as received. The troubles at Kārwār and Calicut, it was hoped, were now over, and the factors were urged to keep on good terms with the local authorities and do everything to promote the provision of pepper and other commodities from those parts. In response to the request for an increase of staff, the following had been appointed: Thomas Rolt, to be Chief in Persia and a member of the Surat Council, at 125*l.* per annum; Henry Young, to be a member of the Council, at 60*l.*; James Adams, at 35*l.*; Henry Bromfield and John Child, each at 20*l.* per annum, and each to have a gratuity for past services of 20*l.* or 25*l.*, at the discretion of the President and Council; five factors at 20*l.* each, viz. George Bouchier, John Portman, Nicholas Searle, Charles Ward, and Mansell Smith; twelve writers, at 10*l.* each (half to be paid in India), viz. Samuel Austen, John Fleetwood,[1]

[1] Son of George Fleetwood, the regicide. The statement made on p. 163 of the 1661–64 volume about Robert Fleetwood is incorrect. For particulars of the family see *Fleetwood Family Records*, by R. W. Buss (1920).

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Robert Jones, Thomas Wynn, Warwick Pett,[1] Edward Austen, William Crawley, Collett Aucher, John Stracey, Nathaniel Meriton, Francis Maliverer, and William Cope; and two apprentices at 5*l.* per annum (all to be paid in India), viz. John Sharp and John Pace. Of the foregoing, Portman, Bromfield, Child, and Smith were already at Surat. Salaries were to begin upon arrival, and the persons were to take rank in the order given. In addition, the following increases were granted to those already on the spot, to commence at the first quarter after the arrival of the ships: John Goodier, to 120*l.* per annum; Gerald Aungier, to 80*l.*; Randolph Taylor, to 60*l.*; Matthew Gray, to 50*l.*; Streynsham Master, to 50*l.*; Caesar Chamberlain, to 30*l.*; Philip Giffard, to 40*l.*, with a gratuity of 20*l.* The engagement of Thomas Coates, at a salary of 30*l.*, was also sanctioned, with effect from the date of the fleet's arrival. The John Portman already mentioned was understood to be already employed at Surat, and his enrolment in the service (if found suitable) had been sanctioned at the request of his father; but if he should prefer to return to England, he should be allowed to do so. The President and Council had done wrong in employing him, considering that he had gone out without the Company's permission; and they were ordered to send back any persons found in the ships other than those named and to notify the Company, who would demand satisfaction from the captains for such breaches of charter-party. The death of the Rev. John L'Escaliot was regretted; and another chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Wilson, was being sent in the *Return*. He had been granted a salary of 50*l.*, to commence from the date of embarkation and to be paid in India, with an annual gratuity of 50*l.* ('as hee shalbe found to deserve'), also to be paid there. Capt. Stanton had been censured for having left behind some of the Company's goods and embarking instead his own private trade; for which and other reasons a fresh commander had been placed in the *Return*. As requested, a supply of

[1] Warwick Pett had been elected a writer, in place of his brother Thomas (who was too ill to take up his nomination), on 27 March, 1668. I owe to Mr. W. G. Perrin, O.B.E., the information that Thomas was the third, and Warwick the fourth son of Commissioner Peter Pett. See also *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1667–8, pp. 313, 459. On 2 August, 1669, writing in ignorance of Pett's death, the Committees said: 'Wee are informed that Mr. Warwick Pett is a very curious artist in the building of shipping and hath as much knowledg as most shipwrights here in London'; he was therefore to be employed in the building of two vessels at Bombay (*Letter Books*, vol. iv, p. 278).

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extra fine broadcloths had been furnished for presents, and it was hoped that these would prove quite equal to any the Dutch could produce. The letter then proceeded to deal with the question of asserting the Company's claim to a moiety of the customs received at Gombroon—a claim which the Persians were disputing now that the English had practically ceased to trade with that port.

Here hath byn one Cojah Karickoes,[1] with a letter of recomendation from the King of Persia to us, the French, and Dutch Company to assist him, as a person imployed by him with a stock to buy some goods and procure some rarities for him, and hath byn very sollicitous with us for permission to carry out [*blank*] clothes of severall collours that hee bought in Holland, as hee saith for the King of Persiaes owne court; which wee were very unwilling to graunt, doubting it was but a feigned thing or a writing that might bee easily there procured. Yet, least it should bee reall, and that by our refuseall wee should discontent the said King, and this person seeming to bee very desirous and promising to use his utmost endeavours to begett a good understanding betweene the King of Persia and us, either in the setling of an equall proportion for our halfe customes or an agreement for the selling thereof to the said King, wee have condiscended for the shipping of the said cloth and his brothers passage on the ship *Constantinople Merchant*, provided that hee consignes the goods to you, that so you may see them unladen at Surratt and from thence reshipt for Persia, without making sale of any part of them at Surratt or parts thereabouts.... Which causeth us againe to put you in mind of setling our said customes as wee have before desired, or selling them to the King of Persia for the best rate you can; in order to which, instruct Mr. Thomas Rolt, whome wee have enterteined Cheife for that imployment, and such others as you shall imploy in this affaire, that they make use of the endeavours of this Cojah Karickoes for the begetting of a good agreement. This person himselfe is intended overland; but by his brother, and a writing from him which wee herewith send you, those which you imploy will be directed how and where to meete with him in Persia.... You speake concerning the ascerting of our right in Persia, that it may be best done before the Portugalls grow too powerfull there. Wee thinck there is more cause of feare of interruption from others then from them. However, wee cannot give any sudaine order therein, having only this yeare provided ships for out and home, and have

[1] Khwāja Kirakos, an Armenian, for whom see *Court Minutes*, 1664–7, pp. 21, 405, 407.

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given you directions to endeavour the composing and setling of that affaire without force, which wee earnestly desire may be done; which if you cannot effect, then advise us fully how you thinck wee may proceed by way of force, that wee may governe our selves accordingly.

The dispatch of a fleet to recover Madras was mentioned. The factors were urged to send back at least one ship (preferably the *Return*) in October, and to do their best to get rid of their stock of goods. For the next season the same sorts and quantities as prescribed in the letter of 26 August, 1667, should be provided, 'adding thereunto double the quantitie of dungarees, pautkaes, parcollas, or other course cloth'; and an assurance was given that a sufficient supply of ships and stock would be sent to carry on as full a trade for goods as can probably vend in Europe'.

Wee have received information that many of our servants in India doe live in disorderly and irreligious practizes; and wee being desirous to redresse the same, to the glory of God and their owne hapinesses, have therefore agreed upon severall rules,[1] which wee herewith send you, of which wee enjoyne a strict observation. And for the encoradgment of our servants in all faire and lawfull way of trade, wee also herewith send you what wee have ordred as to that purpose; and require that a booke bee kept, wherein all such trade shalbe duely registred, and the said booke to bee anually sent home to us. Wee also send you printed rules, orders, and directions for the well regulating and manadging of our affaires in the parts of India, wherein wee have laid downe gennerall orders for our President, Agent, or Cheife and their respective Counsell, and perticuler rules for our bookekeepers, warehowse-keepers, etc.; whereunto wee require punctuall complyance from all persons whoe are or shall bee therein concerned.

Of the 'pintadoes' lately received, many of the bales contained 'all one and the same sort of worke'. For the future each bale should be of mixed patterns, 'that soe each buyer may bee furnished with varieties'. A request was also made for a supply of 'pintadoes' with purple and green flowers ('with some redd mixed'), and some large quilts of the same flowers and colours, '15 or 20 pintadoes to one quilt'. The quilts should be at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards by $3\frac{1}{4}$. The 'Nundrabaud baftaes etc.'[2] sent home by the *Return* proved good

[1] See the account given of these rules in Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, p. 406, and *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii, p. 306.

[2] See the preceding volume, p. 165.

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and have sold well; a further supply should therefore be provided. The same ship brought eleven bales

which you call amner[1] or halfe peeces of narrow baftaes, which conteined 10 yards in length. These sold to content; but wee desire that what hereafter you shall send may bee either but bare 9 yards in length or elce whole peeces of 15 yards long; for if they hold above 9 yards, wee pay the full custome as for whole peeces. And had not the prementioned come in our owne ship, it might peradventure have raised some dispute as to the fraight.

The Broach and Baroda 'tapseiles' had been found very coarse and thin, and not equal to those of Surat; they must be better made in future. Some of the narrow baftas classified as coarser were little different from the rest. If good blue 'dutties' were procurable, three or four thousand pieces should be sent by the next ships. The 'Tellingoe' indigo received in the *St. George* [see the preceding volume, p. 164] had not yet been put up for sale.

In your gennerall letter of 26th March, 1667 Sir George Oxinden desires our leave to retorne home; and his brother, Sir Henry Oxinden, made an adresse to the Court upon that accompt, intimating that the differences which did arrise betweene you and Bombay, our writing concerning private trade, and some disatisfactions that were in us concerning his actings made him the more to desire it. For the first, wee being apointed to receive Bombay into our posession and your disposure, that cawse will be taken away; and concerning private trade, when wee heare thereof wee must acquaint you therewith; not that wee beleive all that is reported, being confident that you doe take care to prevent things of that nature that may be to our prejudice. And as to our disatisfaction concerning Sir George his actings, wee doe hereby assure him the contrary, and have upon all occasions shewed it by our readines to comply with any motion that hath bin made on his behalfe. And therefore, though wee would not presse him to stay overlong, to his prejudice, yet in reguard it is now the begining of our trade after the peace and taking posession of Bombay, our affaires will require the most able and best advice and counsell for the setling thereof; therefore wee desire him that hee will continue in our imployment for three yeares after the receipt hereof, or at least so long that wee may have time for the setling of our affaires. Wee have taken into our consideration your great care and courage in

[1] Possibly a place-name.

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the defence and preservation of our estates in the time of Sevagees invasion (although you did it in the discharge of your trust); and as an acknowledgment of our scense thereof and your good service therein, wee have now sent to Sir George Oxinden the value of 200*l.* in gold, with a medall of gold,[1] put up in a box delivered Capt. Whitehorne, wherein is also twoe seales for Bombay: to Mr. John Goodier, 100*l.*: to Mr. Henry Garie, whoe was then with you in Counsell, 60*l.*: to Mr. Gerrald Aungier, 60*l.*; made up severally and directed to each respective person.[2] And wee hereby order for your disposure 400 dollars,[3] to bee distributed amongst such persons as you know were active in that service, amongst whome in perticuler wee preferr Mr. John Pettitt.

It was hoped that the factors would now join harmoniously and zealously in promoting the success of the Company's operations. After some further injunctions concerning Bombay (to be noticed later), the letter went on to animadvert upon the private trade that had been carried on by Aungier, Gray, Taylor, and others with persons in England, but professed a willingness to overlook the past, if the guilty parties would abstain in future from going beyond the limits fixed by the Company. A further supply of copies of the Treaty of Breda was furnished.

Also the league since made betweene His Majestie and the States Gennerall, togither with His Majesties letter to the States and their answere unto him, relating to the 36th article of the treaty,[4] wherein it is agreed that all and every one they or the States of the Pro-

[1] On 11 March, 1668, the Court of Committees determined to present to Oxenden either a medal or a piece of plate; and evidently the sub-committee to which the decision was left adopted the former alternative. The amount authorized was 20*l.*, but the actual cost was 21*l.* 3*s.* According to Fryer (ed. Crooke, vol. i, p. 223) the medal bore the motto (of the Master family): *non minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri*. What appears to be the die from which this medal was struck is now preserved in the India Office Library; it shows the arms of the Company, surrounded by the motto quoted above. It seems reasonable to suppose that the same die was used also for the medals of the same value that were given to Aungier and Streynsham Master in 1672, after Sivāji's second attack on Surat. It is true that in Master's own note on the subject (quoted in *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii, p. 226) he says that his family arms were on the same side as the motto, while the Company's arms were on the other; but the note seems to have been made after he had parted with the medal, and possibly his recollection of the details was at fault. An illustration of a cast (in the British Museum) from the India Office die will be found in Mayo's *Medals and Decorations* (vol. i, p. 55).

[2] From the invoice in *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xv, we learn that these amounts were sent out in Spanish pistoles at 4*l.* per oz.

[3] Not *pounds*, as printed in *Hedges' Diary* (vol. ii, p. 302). The conventional sign for dollar or rial of eight is used.

[4] The Treaty of Breda (July 1667).

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vinces shall at any time choose, apoint, or make Capt. Gennerall, Governor, or Cheife President, etc. shall bee bound and obliged by oath to confirme the treaty and all the articles thereof, and not to act any thing contrary to it; copie of which oath wee now also send you for your government. And hope that, there now being so strict an allyance, that you will not in the least bee interrupted by the Dutch, but peaceably proceed in the prosecution of our affaires, and that a good and amicable correspondency will be continued betweene you.

Directions were given for remitting home the proceeds of a debt due from a banyan to Richard Bladwell; also for the provision of a document necessary for the recovery, from the estate of the late President Wyche, of a debt due at Surat to Tulsi Dās. Particulars were to be sent of a parcel of tutenague claimed by Matthew Andrews. The application of Thomas Coates for remuneration for his services in Siam was rejected, in view of the loss incurred in that voyage by the Company (though others profited); he must remain satisfied with being now engaged in their service, upon the recommendation of the President and Council.

Wee desire you to send us on these ships six of the hansomest spotted deare that you can procure; which wee intend for our Kings Majestie. Devide them on the three ships, each a male and female.

Special instructions had been given to Rolt for Persia, and these he had been instructed to communicate to the President and Council, whose orders he was to observe. He should be advised from Surat of the cargoes of all vessels proceeding to Gombroon; while the factors at the Coast and Bay should be enjoined to do likewise. Covenants and bonds were sent for signature by Bromfield, Child, Portman, and Mansell Smith; when executed, these were to be forwarded to the Company. Eight 'laskers', who came to England in the *St. George*, were being sent back in the *Return*. While in London they had been lodged, fed, and clothed by the Company, at a cost of 42*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Rolt had been permitted to take out on his own account some woollen goods, the proceeds of which he was to be allowed to return in such Persian goods as were not prohibited by the Company, he paying freight for them and giving a true account of their cost and all charges. Such goods were not to exceed three tons,[1] and they must be consigned to the Company.

[1] See a note at p. 17 of the 1665–7 volume.

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Rolt was to go up to Ispahān during his first year on the Company's account; after that he might go as often as he pleased, but at his own cost.

Rolt's instructions are given in a separate document, also dated 27 March, 1668. These required Stephen Flower, or whoever else might be found in charge upon his arrival, to yield up to him the place of Chief. Flower was to be called to account for going up to Ispahān contrary to order, for passing strangers' goods through the customs as English, and for keeping several commodities on the books as in stock when they were not really forthcoming. He was also to be required to give an account of the 'accustomary present given by the Shawbander of 50 tomands per annum'. Rolt having promised to confine his expenses below the lowest of previous years' outlay, no limit would be placed upon his outlay for the first year; after that, the Company would fix the rate. For the future all presents received by the Chief were to be brought to the Company's account. A duty of two per cent. was to be levied upon all goods imported by Englishmen, calculated upon their value at Gombroon. All others were to pay the full ten per cent. to the Persian authorities, 'whoe, observing your upright and faire dealing herein, may thereby probably bee induced to allow us our due proportion of the customes'. One of the factors should sit constantly in the custom-house, to take account of all goods imported and exported; and copies of these statements should be yearly transmitted to England via Surat. Endeavours should be made to induce country vessels to visit Gombroon rather than Kung, and for this purpose the Shāh-bandar should be invited to promise them 'more civell usage then formerly'. When Flower had been forced to pay up any amount found due to the Company, he was to be sent away for England, unless the President and Council should see fit to employ him at some factory on the coast of India. Rolt was to journey to Ispahān to present to the King a letter from the Company,[1] and he was permitted to give at the same time to the King and his nobles articles to the value of 600*l.*, such articles to be agreed upon with the President and Council and to be provided by them. He was not to go again to the capital without permission from the Company;

[1] See the *Letter Books*, vol. iv, p. 165. It congratulated the King upon his accession to the crown, commended Rolt to his favourable notice, and expressed a hope that the Company would be accorded its 'just rights' in the matter of the Gombroon customs.

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and if he left Gombroon in the summer heats he must not go further than Shirāz. On arriving at Surat he was to consult Oxenden and his Council, and was at all times to obey instructions from them. He was also directed to procure six 'Kermania' goats (two male and four female) and send them to Surat for transmission to St. Helena.

On 3 September it was resolved in consultation[1] to send the *Constantinople Merchant* to Bombay, to carry thither the Commissioners appointed to take over that island. It seems to have been intended that she should go on down the Malabar Coast; but at a meeting held two days later it was decided that, in view of the danger that she might not return in time to permit of her early dispatch to England, she should come straight back to Swally. Back she accordingly came; and her cargo was put on board so expeditiously that early in November she commenced her return voyage for England, where she arrived towards the end of May, 1669, bringing a letter from the President and Council, dated 2 November. No copy of this has been found, but a full abstract (consisting mainly of quotations) is available. Oxenden and his colleagues reported that the whole of the broadcloth brought by the *Bantam* was sold immediately at six rupees per yard to one merchant, who, however, had since vainly tried to sell what he had left at 5½ rupees. The calicoes now sent home would be found 'both very cheape and good in their kinds'; this satisfactory result was due to the fact that 'we have kept doeing this whole tyme of the warr, making our investments goe our pace .... when there was not a buyer but ourselves'. With reference to the orders that no native passengers were to be allowed to embark in the *Bantam*, the factors inquired whether an exception should be made in favour of

some Java's that come hither to make a pilgrimage to Mahometts tombe, and bring with them the King of Bantams recommendations and some moneys to be invested, to the amount of 8 or 10 parcells sometymes. The Dutch to our knowledge deny to take in either persons or goods; and soe will we, if you please. We onely feare your Agent etc. may receive some discountenance from the Kinge and Orankay's.[2] Else those people are in noe esteeme here.

The *Charles* had reached Goa on 16 May, whereupon instructions were sent to sell her broadcloth there, if possible.[3] This was effected,

[1] Printed in Forrest's *Selections*, vol. i, p. 224. [2] Noblemen (Malay *orang-kāya*).
[3] For a detailed invoice of her cargo see *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xv, p. 62.

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at the rate of 7 *zerafins*, 2 *tangas* per yard—' a good price, and will make way for more '.

We shall now give you an accompt of the goods received from you. The broadcloth is again all sold att a lumpe, as well these 120 bales as what is in the *Returne* and *Rebecca* (when it shall please God to arrive them in safety) att $\frac{1}{16}$ more then that you sent forth in your *Returne* two yeares since; in all other rebates the bargain is the same with that. This selling it off by wholesale and to one man[1] we finde by experience is the occasion of ventinge more (which is agreeing to your order), and we finde it makes the commoditye of much more esteeme then ever it hath bin knowne in former tymes, when it was retayled by yards and peeces; besides the damage you sustained by the worme and moth, by lying the whole yeare in your warehouse. And 800 peeces would cloy the whole countrey and leave remaynes uppon your hands; whereas these people have much better means to disperse it to and fro then we could ever have. Next to this good commoditye we must joyne a bad one, the quicksilver, by which (as it is rated) you are alwayes a looser in the price, besides the damage, that is suspected will be more by this parcell that is come out in this shipp then you have received since we came into India. It is not yett weighed off; but by poizinge the chests some are discerned to be quite run out and severall appeare not to have the halfe remayninge. It is now fallen to soe low a rate that we were contented to take 54½ rupees per maund; by which you may compute your losse, and likewise in the vermillion, that went off att the same rate; neither of which had sold soe well by themselves, or could we hope to be quitt of them in three yeares tyme, for here is in the towne, stored upp by Virje Vorah and Hodje Zaed Beague, some thousands of maunds, suffitient to supplye the whole countrey for many yeares. We say these two commodityes had not gone off soe, had we not joyned the copper to them, which is in some better request, that made us putt them all three together and declare not to sell one without the other; the copper att 21½ rupees per maund, and will alwayes sell in great quantityes. Lead will goe off to content att 5 rupees per maund. . . . Brimstone is alwayes a very drugg here; made soe by the great abundance that is yearly brought from Bussorah and Persia, that it seldome exceeds more then rupees 2¼ and 2½ the maund; by which you will finde the discouragement to send any more.

[1] From a later reference it appears that the purchaser was Khwāja Minaz.

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No more quicksilver or vermilion should be supplied until asked for. The sword-blades were in no demand and would not yield cost price; 'here are such vast quantityes, brought forth by the shipps companies'.

Tynn is for the most parte a currant commoditye, there being great expence of it all the countrey over; but of late fallen in price, by the vast quantityes that the Dutch yearly bring. It was wont to sell att 15 rupees per maund, but now will not yeeld more then 13½ and 13¾ rupees the maund. And this, we thinke, will be the lowest price it will be sold att; for Acheen now yeelds little, in regard the greatest parte of what came from thence was what brought thither from Tecu, Priaman, Peillucke, and other neighbouring ports in small vessails and prowes; it being formerly a great trade. But the Dutch have, within these 3 or 4 yeares last past, mastered all those other ports of Tecu, Priaman, etc. and built forts to command them; and their conditions are that noe native shall transport, or sell to any but to the Dutch themselves, any tynn or what elce is the growth of their countreys, but all be brought unto them, att the rates they have agreed uppon, which is in trucke for blew callicoes, other Indian clothing, and spices. And this start they have gott of us in the tyme of the warr, when we could not appeare; elce the natives would never have submitted to soe great bondage. There is now left open onely Atcheen, on the coast of Sumatra, and a port called Queda, uppon the maine of Mallacca, which the Dutch have layen before and blockt upp these three yeares; but the king of the place still holds out, in expectation of our cominge; [so] that we shall use some means or other that they may heare from us, and (if possible) send thither this yeare. It is a hopefull port, and the people have soe great affection for us that, uppon assurance we will deale with them and supplye them with commodityes, they will never suffer the Dutch to have any footing among them. It lying uppon the mayne, we are informed, by a merchant that is well acquainted with the countrey, there may be a great trade driven and very profitable, when once the inland merchants shall finde they may be yearly furnished with goods proper to them. And now we are giveing the accompt we have learned of these places, please to lett us minde you of a present the Queen of Acheen sent to our Kings Majestie, that was carried home by Mr. Mathew Andrews.[1] We beleeve it is of noe great vallue; yet she doth not forgett it, but minde[s] us

[1] See the 1661–4 volume, p. 83.

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by every conveyance. There went a letter with it. If you please to send somethinge of Europe in returne, and appoynt us to answere the letter, as you direct, in your or His Majesties name, it shall be done, in the Arabicke language. We have made an essay [i. e. assay] of the tynn you have now sent, with the Acheen tynn, and can plainly discerne that of Acheen to be more refined. We finde you are att great charges in melting it into small long thin peeces, almost such as your glasiers use in England; which must make it much dearer, besides the barrells etc. All which may be saved; for it advances nothing the more here, but a losse; for the barrells with its weight breake, or their heads flye out, and then it is the more handier to be stolen. [So] that what you send hereafter, let it be in piggs of one hundred, and one hundred and a halfe, and not lesse. Onely lett great care be taken of the finenes of the tynn; for the merchants that deale in it here are as exact in taking notice of its goodnes as if it were silver, and, when they buy any, have essaies cutt off from every pigg, which they make tryall of before they will treat with you. . . . The allom will turne well to accompt, and therefor you may please to send of it yearly; for it goes off very currantly here att rupees 3½ per maund. Elephants teeth have fallen in price these five yeares, and hath not that good esteeme as in former tymes; which made us very inquisitive to finde out the reason, and are told that much of the use they were putt to is taken off; as, uppon the death of the husband, the wife, putting herselfe into widowhood, not onely layes by all her jewells and ornaments, but breakes her ivory braceletts, which are 8 or 10 uppon each wrist; and soe did the whole kindred, mourning certain dayes, and then were again supplyed with new from the deceaseds kindred; which superstition was soe universall that it caused a vast expence of teeth. But they of late are become wiser and make silver in their stead, which att funeralls they lay by for a tyme and then putt them on again; and this is now become soe generall that little or noe ivory is worne. The extraordinary price that corrall bore two yeares since . . . hath brought great quantityes into the countrey by way of Lisboa and Goa, Bussorah, Mocha, and some the French have brought; [so] that it is now low again. Yet we doubt not but to sell yours for profitt, and desire a quantitye may be sent us yearly of all sorts, for it is a currant commoditye. Perpetuanoes doe not goe off readily; yet, since it is a native commoditye, a few of them yearly will be suffitient, for they are subject to take the worme. And those you send, pray lett them be redds and greens, and noe blews or any other colours. Cloth rashes are new to us, not having received any

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from you untill this instant. They are not yet putt to sale . . . but we know they are a commoditye. . . . The fine cloth is sold, unsight or unseen, att the same proffitt your course cloth makes you. . . .

The next portion of the letter was devoted to Bombay, and will be noticed under that heading. After that the President and Council resumed their reply to the Company's letters.

We will make good our promise of making out to you how 70,000*l.* and upwards will be imployed here in India; this being the most proper place for it, in regard here you give us a standing order to make tymely provision for the ensueing season, which will unavoydably need a double stocke. Your Presidency of Suratt will require for the supply of those factoryes that must ymmediately be furnished from hence, as Gundavee, Nunsaree [Navsari], Suratt itselfe, Uncleseer [Anklesvar], Broach, Daboy, Brodera, Neriad, Ahmadavad, Agra and all thereabouts, and Nunderbar, where we have lately, uppon your approving that cloth, made a strong league with two eminent merchants, in whose hands lyes the whole trade, that are now become your servants and obliged themselves to procure you all the cloth which that place will yeeld, for which we are to allow them two per cent. for their labour and servants hire to gather it in, and all other profitts to be yours; we have alsoe encouraged them to endeavour to enlarge the investments, for att present the produce of that place is not much. We have bin uppon this these two yeares, and sent two servants of our owne thither; the one dyed, and the other came soe ill backe that twas thought he was past recoverye; and we are since told that very few can live there but such as are borne uppon the place, the aire and water are soe infectious. We say all these forenamed places will imploy 40,000*l.*; Carwarr att present, 8,000*l.*; Callicutt, 5,000*l.*; Bombay and Decan, 10,000*l.*; Atcheen, 3,000*l.*; Kedah, 3,000*l.*; Mocha, Bussorah, and Persia, 6,000*l.*; which together amounts to 75,000*l.* sterling, and this is the least computation can reasonably be adjudged. We shall now propound to you how you may be eased of much of the trouble you yearly complayne of in sending silver out of the land, which seemes to give soe great offence. The best means we can thinke of is that you procure a licence from the court of Madrid for a free trade to the Mannila's, which is one of the Phillippine Islands; a place where your President, Mr. Francis Breton, made two voyages for you to great profitt,[1] but was forbid coming thither any more, under menaces

[1] See the 1642–5 volume.

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of confiscateing shipp and goods; of which their severity your factours, during the tyme of their being there, saw a sad example of their confiscateing a Danes shipp and goods which came to trade, executed the commander, and imprisoned all the rest of the men. Mr. Thomas Breton, that is now att home with you, will informe you of all things concerning the place; and thus much we are ascertaind of, that it is a great place of trade, vents many Indian commodityes, and affords as profittable ones of the growth of the countrey, as sugar, cloves, logwood, gold, silver, and many other sorts of goods that are brought thither by the Siamers and Chinezes, that have a very great trade thither; and [it] will be a means to gaine soe much knowledge as to gett an entry into China itselfe, which, if it succeed, cannot but be both profitable and commodious for you. But we shall returne to the Mannilla's again, as best knowne to us. There comes yearly from Nova Hispania [Mexico] two or more great gallions, that lade backe with such goods as are brought thither from other ports; whom we finde to be most greedye of the commodityes that come from these parts; [so] that we beleeve a great and profitable trade may be driven thither. Therefor it will greatly import you to use all your endeavours to gaine this lycence, by means of the embassadours or otherwise; and if you should bestow 2 or 3,000*l.* to purchase it, yet will it be the cheapest bargain that ever you made. And this we now presse with the greater chearfullnes, in regard you have Bombay, where there is conveniency for shipping, their repaire, manning, victualling, and all other accommodations. And therefor we beseech you to labour in it; for the profitts that may accrew may raise you soe much stocke as, with what of native commodityes and stores for shipping we shall require, we may in a little tyme lade your shipps home. The Dutch have found out this way; and if you will lend us your helping hand, we shall use our endeavours to bring it to passe.

On further inquiry, they judged that 500 pieces of 'cloth rashes' might be sent yearly. As for Revington's business, Taylor and Gray would see that the deceased was not wronged. 'We heartily wish we had a good opportunity that we might quitt scores with our Decan debtours; we hope Bombay will hasten a conclusion to it the sooner.' The iron guns were all sold, except those in use and some unserviceable ones that came out of the *Return*.. Two of the longest brass guns had also been sold; the rest, with the mortar-pieces and 'granadoes', were being reserved for Bombay, 'the fittest place to

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lodge all such things.' As for packing the quicksilver in the Dutch fashion in stone bottles, the result was disastrous in the case of the last consignment, but this might have been due to rough usage in putting the packages aboard ship. 'We are persuaded this way of stone bottles is not soe good as those thicke short glasse bottles they were wont to come in.' Goodier and the other factors whose salaries had been increased desired to express their thanks. Goodier had intended to return to England, but had since decided to remain, and had accepted the post of Chief at Bombay. Coates, who also returned his thanks, was in charge of the customs at Māhīm. As for the Armenian, 'Cojah Karickos,' recommendations from the King of Persia were easily obtainable.

His pretence was plausible; but we finde he hath served himselfe more then the Kinge. And had it bin otherwise, it now ceases; for this younge prince that was soe lately admitted to the throne is since dead alsoe,[1] and we cannot yet heare whom the nobles will make choyce of (for it is much in their wills). This Armenian hath bin often with us and received what civilityes we could shew him to heighten the obligation, since there hath bin soe much done already; although we beleeve he will be able to doe you little good, for the Persians have but a very slender esteeme for the Armenians, and accompt them more their slaves then subjects.

The Company's wishes regarding Persia were noted. The English Chiefs in that country 'have ever had but a slender regard to the orders they receive from us', but in respect of instructing Rolt 'we shall doe the best we can to serve you'. A fear was expressed that the salary allotted to him, together with the cost of his going to Ispahān, would be 'all dead losse'. Their intentions had been to remove Flower, who was altogether unfit for that employment, and to send in his place a person better qualified,

that should have complyed with the Persian[s] for a tyme, receiving what he could wring from them, and uppon all faire occasions shewing resentments of ill usage and underhand dealing in their Kinge, designedly to defraude you of your right; which is very apparent by the discouragements, exactions, and delayes used to all merchants that come to Gombroone; which would not be, were not the Ckaun and Customer privately instructed to it;

[1] This was untrue.

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and this intentively to sett upp a new port not frequented untill of late years, by name Cong,[1] that for one inconsiderable vessell that was wont to goe thether formerly, they have now 10 good shipps. It lyes two or three dayes saile above Gombroone; where all, as well the merchants as the shipps owners and every common seaman, hath some favour shewd them, to invite them to come again; whereas on the contrary all vessells that putt into Gombroone pay a certain summe for anchorage, according to their burden or what they will exact, [and then they?] treat the merchants spightfully and little better then rob them, by wearying them out with delayes, that att last they are constreyned to give them what they aske, to gett their goods cleare of the custome house. Thus we would have worne out a yeare or two in complaint to the King, the Ettaman Dowlett, and Ckaun's, and if that had wrought out noe redresse, not much valueing whether it did or noe, for we would have spent noe more tyme in these complaynts then would have strengthened our hands and enable us to deale with them, for, now that you have Bombay, nothing is more feizable, for the Persian neither hath or can make any force or resistance by sea, that a very small appearance will doe our worke; and therefor the next thinge should be to declare a warr against Persia, grounded uppon former and present injuries and abuses putt upon us from tyme to tyme without any reliefe, although it hath bin sought with great trouble and charge; which we hold to be a lawfull pretence and just grounds to refuse giveing any more passes, and alsoe to send a reasonable force, suffitient to repell or withstand any that they shall meet with; and to this intent draw an ample declaration in Persian, to be sent on shoare, inserting our grievances and forbearances that att last putt us uppon this way of righting ourselves; and that, since the Kinge and his court refuse giving us any redresse or justice, though laboured for with great expence and patience from yeare to yeare, wherefor, having a right to the Gulph of Persia and port of Gombroon by a firme league and covenant made and concluded att the expulseinge the Portugall, which cost our nation both men and money to purchase, we are now resolved to take our owne due of customes by sea. And this course we expect will quickly bring the Persian to a new treatie, and such termes as will be profitable to you for the future;

[1] Kung was by no means a 'new port', and the Portuguese, under a treaty made in 1631 (see the 1630–3 volume, p. 140), had a claim to half the customs received there. Evidently, however, the Persians were anxious to avoid any continuance of the payments made to the English at Gombroon; and probably they counted on being able to defeat any claim the Portuguese might make in respect of the Kung customs.

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and untill this be done we shall not be heard or regarded. Here tis likely you may aske the question why we, that have all along declyned force, should now propose it. The great reason is your havinge of Bombay, where all things in a short tyme will be fitting for such an enterprize with little charge, which the island will in the greatest manner supplye, as men, provisions, a receptacle for the shippinge, and all other accommodations; whereas, being destitute of these conveniencies, all things would have bin soe excessive chargeable, to have shipps and men out of England for such an exploit, which if [it did] not succeed the first yeare, we were att a losse how to dispose of them, having noe place to retire to or trim our shipps or doe anything else in. Besides, we then feared the Mogull might have sided with the Persian in behalfe of his merchants (that might for the present receive some obstructions in their trade) and thereuppon [have] impeded the whole course of our businesse here in his territoryes, which we were unwillinge to putt to the hassard, having noe place to retire to or from whence to seeke reliefe; which now is quite otherwise, for now he will not be soe forward to impose uppon us; and if they should . . . we would not have entred uppon it untill we had fortified our selves and every way provided for you; when this and other things very feizable may be brought about, to great improvement and advance of trade. But before these things ought to be sett on foot, our first and principall worke must be to fortifie [Bombay]. . . . Our declaration put ashoare att Persia, together with the engines we shall place att the port and court, we doe not question will speedily bring them to desire a treatye, which (by the helpe of God) we shall manage to the removall of all former abuses, regulating the Ckaun and Customer, and settle your people in the custome house, with that honour and repute they first had, to the bringing you in a large summe for your moyetye, we hope some thousands of pounds yearly, charges deducted. It is in Your Presidents tyme that Bussorah was first frequented, and by your shipping, the *Francis*, *Michaell*, and *Seahorse*; supposeing then that vessells of greater burthen could not goe soe high upp the river of Euphrates, but since it is and hath bin experimented that vessells of six or eight hundred tons may and have gone safely upp, deep laden; which in a few yeares hath made this place the flourishingst port in India [i. e. the Indies]. And this is another evill crept in to helpe to ruine Gombroone; for all the goods that are now transported thither were wont to goe noe further then Gombroone [and were] there landed [and sent] thence to Spahaun, which was wont to be the great mart, whither merchants of all

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sorts did resort; when Persia was in a more flourishing condition then ever it hath bin since; which either is not well considered by the Persian, or he knowes noe means to prevent it. [So] that when he comes to understand his interest, by the profitts that will come to him and benefitt to his countrey, he will easily be inclynd to listen to some proposalls that may prevent this and bring the whole trade into its former source; which by our assistance may with ease be done, for the channell thereabouts is very narrow, that noe vessell can passe unseen. This by the helpe of Bombay may be done alsoe. And if you object we shall begett enemyes and contract trouble, we answere noe, and that when Bombay is once well fortified and furnished with men and materialls, none dare be offended; and if they should, we have, by the Dutch proceedings, largely experimented it is better in trade to be feared then beloved, if faire means will not prevayle. All which we referr to your wisedomes, and close with our humble request that, for the hopes and expectations that arrise from your new possession of the island, you would not now thinke of selling your royaltie and rights to Persia. And we heartily wish (out of none the least benefitt that we expect or looke for, but the honour of bringing this worke about) you had left it entirely to us, and that our creditts might have layen att stake for the bringing it to perfection.

The letter went on to emphasize the necessity of a more plentiful supply of funds. The stock sent out would suffice to pay the debts, lade the ships home, and begin fresh investments; 'but we shall never be able to goe through with them without plungeing ourselves deepe in the usurers bookes,' while the orders sent out to resettle the old factories and start new ones could not be carried out without a plentiful supply of money and goods. Of the latter a request was made for 20,000 maunds of copper, a like quantity of lead, 5,000 maunds of tin, 2,000 maunds of elephants' teeth (from Guinea), 40 chests of coral, 3,000 half pieces of broadcloth, 100 pieces of fine broadcloth, 500 pieces of 'cloth rashes', and 300 pieces of perpetuanoes. The orders permitting private trade, duly registered, were noted; while observance was promised of the printed rules and orders.[1] A letter of attorney had been procured from Tulsi Dās and was forwarded. His 'miserable poore condition' was commiserated the more, in that it arose from lending money to Bornford and other Englishmen for their private trading. His account with the estate

[1] See p. 18; also *Court Minutes*, 1664–7, p. 417.

of President Wyche was also transmitted. The instructions for clearing all the Company's debts would be obeyed as soon as possible.

That of Choutredas [Chhota Dās] and Somje Chitta [Somaji Chitta] we had done long before now, but we feared you could not safely supply us with stocke during these warrs with the Dutch and, the two summes added being considerable, we were loth to parte with them; espetially since their proprietours were not over-earnest for it, in regard they were to receive common interest for it during the tyme we were indebted abroad (and not whilst you had any cash in the house, which was [*blank*] dayes, all which tyme you are not to pay them a pice); whereby you are noe looser, but gaine by the creditt of soe much stocke, which we imployed when all callicoes were very cheape. . . . Old Choutredas and Somje Chitta are both dead; but they have left their children and familyes, who begin to be more importunate then their fathers; [so] that we are minded to cleare with them att our first leisure. They are both reported to dye in debt; which is soe very strange that its thought their children have some designe in pretending to povertye. The deceased John Lambton stands greatly indebted here to many of these people, that daylye clamour for payment. Among the rest is your old doctour of physicke, a Gentue, that hath bin a servant and pentioner upwards of 40 years [and] is now become very aged. The said Mr. Lambton gott of him 6,000 rupees uppon interest, for which the old man hath a bill under hand and seale, wittnessed by both the brothers, Ralph and Richard Lambton. The poore man hath for moneths and years sollicited us to preferr his case to you. He makes grievous complaint, saying it is his all, for which he hath laboured the whole course of his life. Copie of his bill attested we herewith send. Here are severall other pretenders, but they are better to passe. However, tis a great pittie and shame that the brothers should goe away with the estate att home and make noe satisfaction to these poore people, whose moneys it is by right. Here is Richard Lambton still remayninge in your factory, expecting his brothers etc. will procure your order uppon us, but we hope you will not cast us into any such intrigue; for if justice would satisfye them, the trouble would not be much, but we finde they will owne nothing to be just but what agrees with their will. It were well this Richard were sent for home; for he is an eyesore to the people, whose continuance here doth but minde the creditours of their losses.

Among John Lambton's goods were certain diamonds, 'said to be designed for Mr. Simpson, the Kings jeweller, who we heare dyed

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lately in England.'[1] Some other jewels belonging to Simpson were found after Lambton's death, and Oxenden had written several times to Sir George Smith, Simpson's relative by marriage, about them. The Court was asked to order the sending home of these, and also of certain emeralds claimed by Mr. Longland of Leghorn, and to make them over to the rightful owner. After another excursus about Bombay, Oxenden and his colleagues passed on to complain about the proceedings of the Dutch on the Malabar Coast. 'They have declared their resolutions to out us quite of all the pepper trade uppon this coast; saying they must doe it, or elce they must quitt the place themselves and draw off the severall colonies they have planted from north to south, for, except we are expulsed, it will not pay the charges they are att.' Hence their attempts to secure monopolies at Bhatkal and elsewhere, offering for this purpose 'excessive rates', in the hope that the English would not be able to give such prices.

But since they have begun the dance, we must and are resolved to follow, and to keepe our hold, if possible; to which intent we have sent downe the coast double stocks to the pepper factoryes . . . with our orders not to be outbid whiles any reason governes, but be vigilant and not let slipp any opportunitye of purchasing all they can, wherein they may intercept the Dutch. . . . If you please to peruse Mr. Grigbie's letters, you will read the natives willingnes to deale with our nation; nay, they passionately desire it. But they are by prudence taught to consult their owne safetye, and therefor, if the English will and can withstand the Dutches force (or as much as to say, fight their battailes and defend them from their oppression), then they desire to deale with us above any others; otherwise, they declare they cannot admitt us, to their ruine and destruction. . . . And this is the sence of all these Easterne princes; which we have thus throughly acquainted you with, that you would in your wisedomes consider and advise, and provide that we may not be thus turned out by their underhand working. We are satisfied that they dare not publiquely oppose us; but what doth that avayle, when we shall be thus undermined? Please to thinke of an expedient to rectifie this, or you may not expect any more pepper, cashia lignum, or cardamons from these parts.

Anthony Smith desired that 100*l.* of his salary should be paid to

[1] At the end of 1666 a fresh 'jeweller in ordinary to His Majesty' was appointed in place of Francis and John Simpson, deceased (*Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1666–7, p. 376).

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his assignee in England; and Gary made a request that all the salary due to him should be paid to 'his friend, Mr. Povey'. Oxenden himself, who had received in India only one-third of his salary, asked that the balance (17,777 rupees 56 pice), together with any commission due to him for 'jewell moneys', might be put into the Company's stock, where it would constitute a 'pledge' for his good behaviour. Further, 'being stored with severall goods and necessaries for his intended returne for England,' he had sent part home by the *Constantinople Merchant*. These he had entrusted to the master, Nathaniel Horseman, and the purser, Edward Tourney, with instructions to deliver them all to the Company, who, he hoped, would make them over to his brother, Sir Henry Oxenden.

We have given you formerly the whole relation of the successe we have had in the procury of this Kings charter or phirmaun under the great seale for the paying of two per cent. export and import of all goods from and to this port of Suratt; which cost us, to the courtiers and their hangers on, 12,000 rupees, which we have stated apart, as disbursed on accompt customes, chargeing you still with the accustomary duty formerly paid, of which we afterwards carry one per cent. to this accompts creditt; which we expect will be cleared this yeare, and then you onely pay two per cent. for ever. This is a bargain we advised you. We were uppon telling you how securely we acted, but yet you rejected it. However, now that you have it for nothing, and a great many other priveledges with it, incerted in the phirmaun, gratis, we hope it will be accepted; and in that our neare five yeares labours will be abundantly gratified. Of those encommenda's[1] that come forth of moneys, jewells, and peeces of eight, there are severall signed by the commanders of the shipps, for which they underhand receive the fraight; wherefor, to prevent such doings in the future, it would be convenient some one person be appointed on purpose to signe the bills, and a list taken and sent forth, specifying the particuler markes and numbers; such as we now here send you of all such persons as have entered their goods in the Generall Pursers bookes, according as we have enordered. The two persons saved out of the shipp *Love*, that was cast away neare Mozambique, Mr. Hinmers and Mr. Evans, that returne in this shipp, we are advised doe transport the amount of rupees 17,900 in fine goods; for which we have taken their obligation to pay you such fraight

[1] Port. *encommenda*, a thing recommended to one's care. The reference is to the jewels, &c., permitted, under the Company's recent orders, to be sent out by private persons.

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as is accustomaryly allowed by others; which obligation goeth herewith. The President hath even now received a letter from the Governour of Suratt, who desirés him to write home to you for 10 great anchors, from 35 to 40 cwt. apeece. They are for the Kings jounkes. We entreat you to send them out uppon the first shipps. It will be an obligation upon the Governour and others the Kings ministers to further your affairs here.

Oxenden and his Council continued to be troubled by claims for money borrowed by William Jesson at Agra. Some time in October or November a letter was received from Robert Smith,[1] dated from 'the Topconno'[2] in Delhi, 18 October, referring to two previous applications, and begging the President and Council to make him satisfaction for the money he had lent to Jesson. 'I have wrought for this many yeares, and I thought it to bee safe in the Honourable Companies hands; and I must seeke for it, being the meanes I have procured to maintaine mee in my age.' There is no record of the answer sent to this.

On 11 November the *Constantinople Merchant's* laggart consorts, the *Return*[3] and the *Rebecca*, arrived at Swally. The letters in which their captains announced their arrival give information about the passengers on board. In the *Return* were the Rev. Thomas Wilson, Rolt (who was ill), Pett, Aucher, Wynn, Fleetwood, Maliverer, Stracey, Jones, Crawley, Meriton, Edward Austen, and Samuel Carleton (surgeon for Persia), besides two soldiers, three servants, and eight 'blacks'; in the *Rebecca*, James Adams, his wife and daughter, and Mrs. Elizabeth 'Gulliford' [Gollofer), who had come out to join her husband at Bombay.

The relading of these two ships was at once commenced, but the work went on slowly, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring pepper, owing to the efforts of the Dutch to engross that commodity. It was, however, completed by 2 January, 1669, when both ships sailed for Bombay on their way home. Oxenden embarked in the *Return*, as he was anxious to visit Bombay and settle matters there; while Aungier was left in charge of affairs at Surat.[4] Just before

[1] See a note at p. 66 of the 1655–60 volume.

[2] Artillery depot (Turco-Pers. *tōp-khāna*, 'cannon house').

[3] An abstract of Capt. Whitehorn's journal of the outward and homeward voyages of the *Return* forms *O. C.* 3228.

[4] Extracts from Oxenden's instructions to him are given at p. 51 of *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2.

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reaching the island, the *Bantam* was met returning to Swally. She was promptly requisitioned by Sir George to attend him to Bombay and carry him back to Surat when his task was finished. From Bombay both ships, having taken in most of the pepper on board the *Bantam*, were dispatched to England in the middle of January, 1669, with a letter from Oxenden, Young, Gray, and Streynsham Master, dated the 15th of that month. This document was largely concerned with the events at Bombay and on the Malabar Coast, and those portions will be dealt with later. An urgent demand was made for a large supply of stock, for without money pepper was unobtainable.

And wee have further to let you know that wee expect great quantities of cloth, having lately found out many inland townes and villages that afford a better sort of cloth as to the thick substantiallness of it then what wee buy here, and more reasonable in price; which, together with our usuall investments and what wee are encouraged to expect from Carwarr, wee having given them samples of all our sortments, which wee heare take well with the people and that wee may expect some quantity's thence, besides the large number of dungarees that are bespoke.

The non-appearance of the *Bantam* had caused a fear that the lading of the two ships would not be completed; and so the President had thought it advisable to purchase 1,000 maunds of Deccan pepper which reached Surat at Christmas. This cost rather over sixpence a pound, but it was ' very good, dry, cleane, and full corn'd '. While at Bombay it was resolved (8 January, 1669) to fill up the vacancies in Council by appointing Matthew Gray and Streynsham Master to that rank; while the post of Secretary, left vacant by Gray's promotion, was bestowed upon Sir George's nephew, Henry Oxenden, ' in respect that hee had been educated for six yeares under the Presidents eye, in the which time the most publique and important affaires fell under his cognizance.' These appointments were recommended to the Company for confirmation. The appointment of George Davis to the service was also solicited. He came out in the *Vine* as purser ' now ten yeares since ', and was engaged in the building of the *Royal Welcome* and *Hopewell*; after the purchase of those vessels by the President he became the latter's employee, ' and ever since hath rested in expectation of further employments in your service.' Unless his father desired his return

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to England, Davis would be glad to remain in India, and he was strongly recommended as able and experienced. The re-engagement of Thomas Hoskins, who was going home in the *Return*, was also urged, since in his employment at Broach, Baroda, and elsewhere, he had shown himself diligent, capable, and honest. The President had been warned, in a note from some of the Committees, that the *Constantinople Merchant* was suspected to have much private trade on board. This letter, however, did not come to hand until the arrival of the last two ships, and then it was too late to act, though Oxenden managed to seize a parcel of lead, which the owners redeemed by paying the full mulct of 300 rupees. Upon making further inquiries,

it now appeares there were other sortments besides lead, in some quantityes; which wee shall never be able to discover seasonably to make seizure of, for by their broker they procure such countenance, sometyme from the Governour himselfe or some other of the Kings eminent ministers that countenance and owne the goods, that wee are not sufferred to come nere them, nor our broker so much as to speake of it to them without threats or menaces. Wee thinke it is strange that such things should not be remedied in England, by keeping lock or locks on the hatches of the severall ships, and persons to be appointed to see all whatever shall be put into the hold, and so to lock it up againe, giving his attendance on board. For wee finde here they [1] have got a subtile pretence to make a great noise, if your President or any factor abroad should have any thing to goe on board, bee it but a case of wine, they appeare so strait laced that it cannot be taken in without an order of Committee; by the which meanes they blinde the world with pretence of an extraordinary care that nothing come into the shipp, and then lade for themselves prohibited goods in such quantities that wee can scarse credit the information that is brought us. Wee shall for our parts use our best endeavours to discover what wee can, and, if wee cannot seize, to informe you; for (as said) they have here so many wayes and such protection that it will be very difficult for us, in regard that these persons which favour private trade are eminent, and give us great trouble in the carrying on of your affaires when they are disgusted.

Oxenden and his colleagues next announced that Goodier was returning to England in the ship that carried the letter. His sudden decision to go home was based partly on his long absence

[1] The captains and officers while lading their vessels at home.

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from his wife and children and partly on some private affairs that necessitated his attention in England. Though they much regretted his departure, they had not felt justified in refusing his request, as Bombay was now 'in a good, quiet, and orderly government'. Moreover, he had deserved consideration, 'in regard of his so honest and able abearance and comportment, which have been of such example and precept that it hath been a leading card to the whole garrison, to so great a refor[mation as] hath been in so short a tyme.' A hope was expressed that the Company would reward him for his valuable services. Intimation was given of the receipt of a sum of 1,154 rupees 16 pice on account of 'the owners of the burnt adventure'; the equivalent should be paid to them accordingly. Bonds and indentures signed by John Child and Mansell Smith were transmitted. Portman had been abroad, but his covenants would be sent by the next conveyance. Arrears of salary due to Randolph Taylor should be paid to his executor. Two packets received from the Bengal factors were forwarded. In a postscript the captains of the *Rebecca* and *Return* were warmly commended for their services, and it was stated that, so far as could be discovered, no prohibited commodities had been brought out by either ship. A list of books desired by the minister (the Rev. Thomas Wilson) 'for your library' was forwarded.

An extract has survived from a private letter sent by Gerald Aungier to Benjamin Albyn (one of the Committees), dated 5 January, 1669, and doubtless carried home by these ships. It says:

There is a strang loss in the ryalls of eight by these shipps, and cheifly in the weight, farr exceedeing former yeares; which I hope is allowed in England. Pray perswade the Committee to send noe more either silver or gold, for wee desier it not, and it usually falls to loss. Bee very severe in hindring private trade, and you may double, nay treble, your quantities of all manufactures. In quicksilver there is also a vast loss. Dutch bottles are best, because they are lighter and easier handed too and againe. Your perpetuanoes are verry course; therfore they doe not sell; but if you would send of the finest sort of serges, they would vend in good quantities. Also the rashees should bee of the brightest coloures can be procured, which in that comodity is most acceptable. I wish you could finde out and send us the way that the Dutch refine their tincall, for I am perswaded it might bee done heere very cheape, and would gaine stowage, and sell farr better [then?] at present.

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Oxenden left Bombay on 28 January, 1669, in the *Bantam*, attended by a couple of small hoys; and after some delay, due to contrary winds, reached Swally on 8 February.

As we have seen, Thomas Rolt arrived from England in the *Return*, but in such poor health that he was unable to proceed to his post in Persia. Stephen Flower, therefore, remained in charge. A long letter from him, dated at Ispahān, 14 August, 1668, was received at Surat, apparently early in December. A few salient points in this may be mentioned. Flower referred to a consignment of wine, gold, horses, &c., which he had sent from Gombroon on the Company's account in a Dutch ship on 22 April preceding, with a letter no longer extant. Information was given regarding the transmission of letters to and from the Company. The death of Edward Swinglehurst on 11 June was announced, and a copy of his will was forwarded. Among his papers Flower had found letters from Surat reflecting on himself, and he proceeded accordingly to vindicate himself from these charges. He next urged the dispatch of some of the Company's vessels to Gombroon.

It is necessary that at least two or three of their best Europe shipps make their appearance in this gulfe, though their stay bee but for three dayes, not onely to take off the reproach our enemyes have cast upon us that the English had lost allmost all their shippes in the late warr (which the Persians are apt to beleive, because, now the peace is made, none appeare as formerly), but cheifely [to] put them into a jealousy that, though wee begin not with them this yeare as the Portugalls have done, yett they may continually expect it; the apprehension whereof may worke upon them soe farr as to bring them to better tearmes then hitherto; and this, if God spare mee life, with your permission I will both undertake and engage myselfe to effect; having soe wrought with the late Shawbunder, Oliver de Beague [Ali Vardi Beg], without any other force or eloquence then that of courtesy, as to conclude with him for 700 tomands (the Kings gratuity excepted), by which you will find there is advanced 50 tomands of the preceding yeares, although the amount of customes, both out and in, exceeded not 3,000 tomands, or above 800 thereof entred in our bookes. This, in regard of our present condition, may bee looked upon as a good come off, and is an ease to our extraordinary charge, unavoidable by reason of the scarcity and dearenesse of all provitions, both for man and beast (allmost trebble to what formerly), though (God bee praised) they begin to abate.

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It was not until 23 June that Flower was able to leave Gombroon for Ispahān, accompanied by George Simonds and Thomas Boyce (surgeon). They reached the capital on 29 July. Flower made inquiries for horses, but was unable to procure any good ones, the prices being very high (none under 10 or 15 *tūmāns*). The Khān of 'Bunder' [Gombroon] had drawn a bill of exchange on them for his next year's *peshkash*; this and their other heavy expenses had made them rather short of cash.

What wee advised concerning the Ckaune, of his obteining the Kings phirmaund for being Shawbunder at Gombroone three yeares, is not yett confirm'd. Could hee have raised 700 tomands, as was required, hee might have made sure worke; but since our coming wee heare the King is inclined to conferr said dignity on one [of] his domesticks, whose name is not divulged. . . . The late Shawbunder, Oliver de Beague, arrived here a few dayes since, but as yett hath not given in his accompt. Hee feares it wilbee noe pleasing one, because [it] amounts not to halfe the summe brought into the treasury the preceding yeare; which cannot bee imputed to him but the Portugalls, who carryed by force such vessells into Congo that had not their passe; and notwithstanding their greate demands of the Persians, which was 5,000 tomands, they compounded at last for 3,000 (as wee received from thence information). Their grand armado in this gulfe consists not of above 7 or 8 frigatts, two whereof are Mallabarrs, miserably fitted with men or amunition; though their Generall, Don Jeronimo Manoell, is a brave fidalgo and experienct commander. The Admirante, Joseph de Melo de Castro (sonne to the late Vice King of Goa) in May last toutched at Gombroone, bringing with him two small prizes with rice and horses, taken from the Arrabs; and having with severall of his fidalgos refreshed themselves 5 or 6 dayes in the Companies house (to which they invited themselves), sett saile to meete the Gennerall and rest of the fleete; who the next morning came to anchor in sight of the road, and after two howres weighed and stood off to sea towards Muscatt, pretending they were designd against it; but by a letter come from Congo I find noe such thing, but that they lay about Cape Jasques to picke upp all such vessells and boates they could meete with and carry them into Congo; against whom the Arrabs are preparing 22 vessells, small and greate, well mann'd, with resolution to engage them, the Persians being ready to their assistance. What the result wilbee, ere long wee shall understand. Signor Manoell Mendez is on board the Generall as Councellor in cheife; who before my departure [from]

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Bunder I made sencible of the damadge and affront done the Honnorable Company by hindring vessells from coming into our port; for which in due time they may bee brought to make satisfaction. The late Tyrant of Bussora, Hassan Bashaw, with his retinue of above 2,000 persons at Shyraz, were preparing for Bundareecke [Bandar Rig] or Congo, with resolution to imbarque for India; having this Kings order to depart his country, upon the Grand Signors demanding his head and estate; having noe inclination to ingage himselfe in a warr upon that accompt, which hee must expect upon refusall the former or [non?] complyance with what required by the said Grand Signor. From Bussora there is come advice of the *Royall Wellcomes* arrivall there in 28 dayes, as also Martin Gas: that they are in hopes the bazar will prove good this yeare, severall dannockes[1] with merchants being arrived from Bagdat, and more expected, but will not venture upon buying before they are certeine what shipps and goods will import (as hath bin their old custome). The government is wholy under the Turke, although the Bassa and[2] Arab tolerated for the present; and had hee not satisfied the Janisaryes with mony and good words, they had pulled his house on his head. The report of merchants paying but halfe custome proves not true, the whole being required, and strictly lookt after; whereby that port is in worse condition then ever. . . . About a moneth before our arrivall here, Jennshett Ckaune [Jamshīd Khān?], Generall of Candahar, the Kings greate favourite, was beheaded by the rest of the lords, not soe much for abusing the people under his command (who had made their complaints to the King) but for presuming to come to Court before [he] was sent for, contrary to the Kings phirmand; which hee performed in 12 dayes, with onely 7 or 8 more in his company, supposing that, if hee could but come to the Kings presence, all would goe well. But the next day of his arrivall [he] was prevented of his purpose and brought to execution publikely in the greate Midan [Maidān] by his enemyes (as before). The same fate had like to befall the Nazar,[3] whose enemyes alsoe soe farr prevailed with the King that order was given for his execution at a certaine time; of which hee having notice, wrought soe effectually by his Polonye[4] that in a short time hee not onely gott the advantadge of his enemyes (of whom the Cofangashabaichi[5] and [was?] by his meanes degraded of said office, being at present Cheife

[1] *Danak*, a boat used on the Mesopotamian rivers for transporting merchandise.
[2] An?
[3] *Nāzir* (superintendent) formed part of several court titles.
[4] Probably the copyist's error for 'policye', in the sense of craftiness.
[5] This may be another slip for *Tufangchibāshī* (chief of the musketeers).

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Porter of the Haram, uncapable for ever of appearing in magalist [1] or being one of the Councill) but is at present in greatest favour with the King and commands. Itts beleived ere long hee will bring some more of the greate ones to their end, with whom at present hee dissembles his malice. The King will hardly sett forwards towards Mosendrom [Mazanderān] this two moneths. As yett I have not given the Ettaman Dowlett [2] [a] visitt; who having notice of our arrivall, sent his cheife porter, Rajah Bogo,[3] to bid us wellcome; and after some complements demanded if I had not brought his master a pischash now our shippes were at liberty; which was excused with their non arrivall. They seeme to bee troubled at the Portugalls proceedings, but hope wee shall continue freinds as before. In 5 or 6 dayes I intend to appeare before the Ettaman Dowlett according to his expectation, though with nothing more than a remembrance, which I shall commend to his consideration. . . . Wee feared in our last all our phirmands would bee called in and altered with the Kings new name,[4] but I am glad to find there wilbee noe occasion of a further charge or trouble on that accompt. I shall endeavour their enlargement, as promised, or, in want thereof, their confirmation, soe farr as may engage better obedience thereto then formerly. . . . The Dutch have paid their debt to the King, and their silke caphila, which consisted of 150 loads, wee mett passing by at Shyraz.

On 26 November, Flower, now back in Gombroon, made a further report to Surat of his proceedings. He had left Ispahān on 6 October and had reached the port a month later. The Itimād-uddaula had promised to procure a *farmān* for the recovery of a debt 'and the enjoying other priviledges'; also to acquaint the King of the English 'aggrievances on his ministers in generall and take order for the future that wee receive better satisfaction'. The Shāhbandar of Gombroon, being charged with defrauding the King, confessed that 800 *tūmāns* had been shared between himself, the late Khān, the Khān's deputy, and the King's Wazīr, his own share being only a fourth of that sum. This he was forced to pay, and the other two survivors were summoned to court to give satisfaction. The revelation of these abuses would, it was hoped, convince the King and his ministers that the complaints of the English were not unfounded.

[1] The Court (*majlis*).
[2] The *Itimād-uddaula*, or chief minister.
[3] Rajab Āghā is probably meant.
[4] See the preceding volume, p. 264.

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By a trancka [1] newly arrived from Muscatt is come advice that the Arrab fleete, consisting of 19 shipps and 5 or 6 friggotts, on whom is 4,000 men, was departed for the coast of India; some thinke against Bombay, others to joyne with Sevagy, who, if the news bee true that came lately to Congo by way of Scynda, had taken Chaul from the Portugalls. . . . Neither is this kingdome at present free from troubles and confusion; for besides the damage received by the Portugalls, in forcing from them soe greate a sum as 3,000 tomands, the Eusbengues [Uzbegs] or Tartars on the other side have surprized and possessed themselves of Mossendron [2] and Asterabad, two large townes, with their territoryes. . . . The Cossacke[s] alsoe in greate numbers have settled themselves and familyes in a small island neere the Caspian, which formerly they desired leave to enjoy in a peaceable manner, but being denied, they tooke and now mainetaine by force. This newes noe sooner was brought the King by his chuppers [3] but, instead of prosecuting his purpose of spending some dayes abroad in hunting and other pleasures with his court, for which [he] had made greate preparations, hee commanded all to returne againe, and immediately entred into councill with his lords how to prevent soe greate evills as they must expect, if a timely course bee not taken; in order to which they are levying an army throughout the whole kingdome to proceed with all speed to stopp the innundation threatned on all sides. And notwithstanding they are yett at peace with the Mogull . . . yett its doubtfull if this newes encouradge them not to give them a new trouble and renew their late designe to goe against Candahar, which they could not undertake in a better conjunction; or the Turkes in prosecuting their demands of surrendring Hassan, the late Bashaw of Bussora; of which they were soe jealous that, although at first they refused, promising him protection, yett upon better considerations, either out of designe to betray his person to the Turke or seize on his treasure, two chuppers were sent from the King to the Governor at Shyraz to stopp his proceeding and send him backe with his estate etc. to Spahaune, by force in case of refusall; of which the Bashaw having timely intelligence, before the Governor could send sufficient strength to surprize him, repaired to a port hard by, in which lay two of his owne vessells to receive him, and with the best part of his retinue and treasure imbarked and escaped, but to what part for refuge is not yet knowne. . . . Thus

[1] See a note on p. 273 of the 1642–5 volume.
[2] Ferahābād (see on p. 225 of the 1651–4 volume) is perhaps intended.
[3] Mounted messengers.

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you may perceive the present posture of this kingdome, which was never in a poorer condition to defend itselfe, having neither men nor moneys; and if this were not a fitt time to accompt with them, I leave those that are wiser to judge; but without force wee must never expect to have our due for the future or satisfaction for what is past. . . . Our new Governor, Merob [Mihrāb] Ckaun, is arrived to one of his gardens without the towne, attending a good house [houre?] for his entrance, and to bee wellcomed by the Dutch and us, according to custome; which tomorrow wee shall performe. Monsr. Mariage is alsoe within three leagues, but will not proceed before the Ckaune bee entred his house. A new Shawbunder is alsoe elected out of the Kings household, named Oliver de Beague, who hath order to proceed for Bunder with all convenient speed.

A postscript of 5 December advised that the factors had 'accompanyed our Ckaun to his lodgings' and had received from him such profuse assurances of his goodwill that they were confident of 'a better understanding then ever'. From the Consul at Aleppo had come news of the death of Humphrey Cooke at Diarbekr (see p. 48).

THE TRANSFER OF BOMBAY, 1668

THE opening of the year found Henry Gary still in charge of the island as the representative of King Charles, and in this capacity he continued for nearly nine months longer. Something has already been said (pp. 7–11) regarding the trouble he gave to the Company's servants at Surat by his highhanded behaviour. We must now examine his administration of Bombay itself, so far as this can be gleaned from the papers extant.

On 7 January Gary sent via Persia a duplicate of his letter to Lord Arlington (12 Dec., 1667) of which some account was given in the last volume (p. 301). This was accompanied by a brief covering note (Public Record Office: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. ff. 4, 9), which said that the vessel carrying it had been freighted by some Englishmen whom Gary had induced to interest themselves in developing trade at Bombay, and that they would have freighted another vessel at Surat for the same purpose, had not Oxenden

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'and his creatures' put an end to the project; thus, complained Gary, 'as fast as I build up, others pull downe.'

With this went a letter to Joseph Williamson of the same date (*ibid.*, f. 55), sending a copy of Gary's previous one of 13 December (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 308), and adding that he had little to report as to subsequent happenings. He declared that his post as Governor brought him nothing beyond his bare pay; and he entreated Williamson to contrive that his formal commission, should the King confirm him as Governor, should be drawn up in such form as to give him ample powers.

In February commenced a correspondence, which rapidly became acrimonious, between Gary and Aungier (*ibid.*, ff. 30–6). Sir Gervase Lucas having died without making a will, his half-brother, Captain Thomas Hardy, took possession of his cash and other property. As stated in the last volume (p. 306), Gary laid claim to the money and, on Hardy refusing to give it up, brought the matter before a council of the officers, who, however, advised that nothing be done, pending instructions from England. Hardy, thinking probably that the money would be safer at Surat, transferred a sum of about 300*l.* to the care of Gerald Aungier. Later he quitted Bombay and died on his way to Surat, on 2 February, 1668, leaving his estate to a brother in England, Major Hardy. Gary promptly called upon Aungier to give up the amount in his hands, as being the property of His Majesty; but Aungier, though anxious to be rid of his responsibility, considered himself to be in the position of a trustee and liable to answer to Hardy's executor if he parted with the money. After much blustering, Gary was obliged to submit to an arrangement whereby the 300*l.* was surrendered as a deposit merely, he and his principal officers binding themselves not to use it until a legal decision had been obtained that the money was really due to the royal treasury. The correspondence is interesting, both as showing the self-importance and vanity of Gary and as bearing witness to the constant exchange of visits between Bombay and Surat. We hear of Goodier visiting the former place, and of Toldervy and Martyn going to the latter, in each case apparently on private business. One letter of 26 February reflects the intelligence that Oxenden had been ill again of his old complaint.

We next find a batch of letters which were dispatched to England towards the end of March. One of these (22 March: P.R.O.: *C.O.*

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77, vol. xi. f. 51) is addressed by Gary to King Charles. In it he reports that

Your Majesties affaires here beare a very good complexion, all things looking in a growing posture; your royall revenue by concourse of people, the love of your subjects, by impartial and well tempred justice, the alacrity of the soldiery by constant and punctual pay, and the substantial present fortifications, which, I have through industry and constant dilligence brought allmost to a perfection; having a more advantagious place in my eye,[1] which I intend to fortify heereafter, when I shall receive encouragement from Your Majestie; the encrease of your revenue heere enabling me to goe through with the charge.

He added that further hostilities between Aurangzeb and Sivāji were expected; but, with the aid of the supplies expected from England, he did not doubt his ability to maintain the island intact. He expressed his joy at the conclusion of peace. It was fortunate, he concluded, that the Dutch had refrained from attacking Bombay, for 'the place was scarse tenable'.

To the Earl of Clarendon Gary wrote a longer letter of the same date (*ibid.*, f. 53), stating that Lucas had told him that His Lordship 'hath a perticuler solicitous kindnesse for this island'. With due assistance from England, Bombay 'may be very considerable to His Majesty', and Gary trusted that the King would never part with it.

I find the people of these parts very desireous of shipping from England to encourage their residence and demurance upon this island, they repaireing hither in considerable numbers already, as Your Lordship may easely judge from the encrease of the customes, which in the first yeare yeilded but 360*l.* sterling, this yeare emproved to 1561*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*; the tobacco rents, amounting in the first yeare but to 369*l.*, now growne to 884*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*; the taverns, or stilling of arracke, produceing the two first yeares but 34*l.* 12*s.*, now risen to 212*l.* since my comeing to the government.

Malabar pirates were proving a great hindrance to commerce, and Gary intended to build some brigantines to deal with them. Humphrey Cooke had left Damān, 'where in a convent hee found or made an impure sanctuary,' and had gone to Persia on his way to England, 'where if hee bee so hardy as to appeare, I hope Your

[1] See the 1665–7 volume, p. 309.

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Lordship is sufficiently instructed how to proceed with him.'[1] The rest of the letter deals with topics already noted.

From the letter addressed to Williamson at the same time (*ibid.*, f. 56), an extract has already been made (see p. 4). Gary also told his correspondent that Cooke's servant, who had been brought from Surat as a prisoner, had confessed that 'his master had suborned 7 Portugueses that would sweare that I had poysoned Sir Gervase'.

We next find a letter in triplicate (*ibid.*, ff. 58, 60, 70), addressed to Lord Arlington, and likewise dated 22 March. Gary forwarded copies of his previous letters and mentioned that he had promoted Toldervy to the captaincy left vacant by Hardy's death; and that, on hearing from the English Consul at Aleppo that peace had been concluded,

I have disbanded the abovenamed Decannes and dismissed them with a small congiary,[2] yet so much to their satisfaction that they prayed for His Majesty and promised their ready assistance upon any occasion at the least warneing or summons. But the paucity of the English soulderie not sufficeing to keepe their duties, I have for the present (till recruits come) entertained a certaine number of Topazies (this country Christians), more subject to our discipline and more agreeable to our English soulderie on the place. I have, in order to encourageing of merchants and easeing ourselves (our present condition being impatient of that delay that will nessesarily intervene between us and the possibility of procureing those privilidges from the court of Portugal that I have above requested Your Lordships care in) lately sent Mr. Joseph Hynmers, Comissioner of His Majestys Customes, in an honorary way to the Viz-Rey of Goa, to trie if hee can for the present prevaile with him for the forbeareance of those high and arbitrary customes, which discourage all merchants from tradeing here in this port and will, I feare, if not remedied, bring His Majestys customes here lower the next yeare; there amount this yeare being x. 18,027, which makes sterling 1561*l.* 1*s.* 09*d.*; as the tobacco farme yeilds, let out againe this yeare, the time being expired, for xs. 10,225, is sterling

[1] The fate of Cooke we learn from a document in the same volume (f. 115). This is a list of packet from Aleppo, which includes the following extract from a letter written by the Consul (Lannoy) to Lord Arlington on 3 October, 1668: 'Mr. Humphrey Cooke, late Lieut.-Governor of Bombaine, having fled thence, died (by a fall from his horse) in the convent of the Capuchin Fathers at Darbikeir [Diarbekr], 8 daies journey hence. A Portugall Father, that came with him from Goa, intends for Marseilles and then for England, with letters to Her Majesty.'

[2] Gratuity on dismissal (Port. *congiario*).

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884*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*; and the rent of the taverns for x. 2,450 (sterling 212*l.*) all strong liquors imported hither payeing besides 4*l.* per tonn; my care being still answered with considerable improvement, as I entreat Your Lordship to possesse His Majesty. In his passage towards Goa hee was sett upon by the Mallabarrs, the great pirates of this coast; but they received so warme a wellcome from the English souldiers in the boat, which were but 6 in number, which after some 56 small shott made with great resolution against those pirates, they made a retreat as full of dishonour as of losse, haveing lost 8 of their men stretched out upon the place (one whereof was their captain) and 7 more wounded, without the losse of one of ours. But this hath so enraged them that they have in their revengefull thoughts sacrifized us all to their fury; being so foolehardie as to adventure since into our very bay, threatning to force the very fishermen from their stakes, as they have allready undone many merchants in these parts, both formerly and lately. For prevention of which foule damage and disgrace, and for continueing and bouying the merchants interesse, I have resolved to sett out 6 brigantins to prevent their molesting this place. . . . What I advized in my former concerning the Great Moguls takeing off the customes from the Moores and laying them on the Gentues was then true; yet hee hath made manifest that his lawes are not like the lawes of the Medes and Persians, for hee hath altered and abolished that edict, laying the customes equally on both;[1] haveing made a decree that whatsoever was imposed in his father Shajahans time should be paid. Hee intends to prosecute Sevagee very warmely; and if hee takes him againe, hee shall not so easely escape. And if hee possesses himselfe of the country lying scituate over against us, twil make mee the more vigilant.

In another letter to Lord Arlington of 2 April (*ibid.*, ff. 71, 72, 73, 103[2]), Gary reported that Hinmers had returned, having had no success at Goa. 'The Viz Rey sent mee a letter and declares that tis not within the compasse of his instructions to graunt this proposall, nor can hee doe anything in it till hee [hath] farther order from the court of Portugal.' Gary therefore requested Arlington to negotiate with Lisbon on the matter. In India, he added, 'the Portugezes are unable to trade themselves and are unwilling that

[1] The accuracy of this statement seems doubtful (cf. the note on p. 286 of the 1665–7 volume).

[2] This is a copy sent home entrusted to the care of Hinmers (9 October, 1668) with a postscript commending the bearer to Arlington's notice.

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others should.' The rest of the letter was occupied with complaints against Aungier for withholding the money entrusted to him by Hardy.

Under the same date Hinmers himself wrote to Williamson (*ibid.*, f. 75), and, after praising Gary and declaring that Bombay was happy under his rule, gave an account of the writer's mission to Goa, where he arrived on 18 February and left again on 8 March. The Portuguese, he said, were demanding ten per cent. on everything (including provisions) that came through their territory. He had pointed out to the Viceroy that, if the English were allowed to use the adjacent waters freely, the customs at Bassein and Thāna, yielding only 10,000 *zerafins* yearly, would increase to at least 25,000; but no concession could be obtained, 'the Portuguezes here being very disaffectionate and envious to our nation.'

The Conde de St. Vincente, by his strange goverment and chimaeras of his unsteadie braine, hath contracted the hatred of the Indian Portuguezes. During his aboade in Portugall he was reported to be a very wise man, and in my judgement hee was soe. I had the honour to bee acquainted with him in Lixboa [Lisbon]. But by a sickness which hee contracted at Mozambique he is much debilitated in his understanding. Since he came to Goa hee hath drove noe other trade then equipping of shippes, which hee sends to sea with order to seize on all junkes that have not his passe; by which in time he will enrage the Mogol and the King of Golgendah, two puissant princes, to make inroades into his masters countreyes.

The eulogistic account given by Hinmers of the success of Gary's administration of Bombay is contradicted not only by Oxenden's report upon the state of affairs he found on the island but also by two letters addressed to Lord Arlington on 10 and 15 March, 1668 (*ibid.*, ff. 44, 46), by John Martyn, who had gone out with Lucas in a secretarial capacity. In the first of these letters, after referring to the death of Sir Gervase, to whom he attributed the sole credit of having increased the revenue of the island, Martyn went on to speak of Gary.

I cannot heare of one foot of land hee hath added to what Sir Gervase Lucas seized on for His Majestie since he took the government on him. . . . This gentleman, I confesse, is a very active person and hath been so forward in executing some affaires that, when it

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comes to His Sacred Majesties knowledge, I beleeve he will have little thankes for his labour. . . . This gentleman is not at all beloved of the souldiry, by reason of his severity to them (some Englishmen are run off the island very lately). Here's nothing, My Lord, but ambition, envy, and murmuring among us, and tis the desires and prayers of the souldiry for a new Governour, an English gentleman and a souldier (this gentleman report speakes to bee an Italian), for truely, My Lord, tis not imaginable what difference there 's between the Honourable Henry Gary, Esquire, and once Mr. Henry Gary, merchant, so strangly hath honnor altred him; and that he thinkes himselfe the fittest person to governe the island, I am told he hath caused a certificate or petition (I know not which) to bee drawne to thatt effect, subscribed by a number of ignorant country people.

In his second letter, which is partly a repetition of the first, Martyn says that Gary

hath done such unbecomeing actions as I thinke a true Englishman would bee ashamed of; but, My Lord, hee 's an Italian by birth and therefore no wonder hee 's so severe. . . . About the middle of last June hee invited a rabble of Moores, to the number of 150 or more, many of them armed, to enter the workes in the night and show their mad drunken prankes. Hee caused a publique market to bee kept within the workes for divers weekes together, to which all manner of persons might have free accesse to view the weakness of our fortifications, which (God knowes) to landward are of small resistance. Hee hath exhausted His Majesties granary of what provision of corne Sir Gervase laid in, in case of a siege. Hee retaines in His Majesties service those persons Sir Gervase Lucas exploded for their deceipt and villanie. Hee refuseth to let leases of His Majesties lands in English, purposely (I presume) because the next Governour His Majestie sends hither may bee kept ignorant of the true estate of His Majesties revennues here. Hee hath caused two Englishmen to bee put to death; one Thomas Moore hee hanged for wounding a man in the belly, which man is now alive and in very good health; and one Robert Whisler he shot to death, pretending he slept on his watch, though no evidence could sweare he was then asleepe. . . . Here is nothing but mutterings and repinings amongst the souldiry, all wishing for a new Governour.

No further opportunity occurred of communicating with England until after the transfer of the island. Then on 10 October Gary

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dispatched a letter to Lord Arlington (P. R. O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi, ff. 105, 124), in which some account was given of what had happened in the meantime. The *Charles*, which reached Goa in May, had brought out a sergeant and seventeen privates (two had died during the voyage) for Bombay, and these safely reached the island after travelling part of the way by land. The controversy with Oxenden concerning the issue of passes (detailed in the previous chapter) was related at length. Gary reported that he was persevering with the building of brigantines to keep off the Malabar pirates, and that he was also repairing the *Chestnut*. She would never be fit for a voyage to England, but would be quite capable of service in local waters. He had made seizure of 121 twenty shilling pieces in the possession of John Martyn, which really belonged to Lucas's estate. A plan for minting coins at Bombay was next unfolded.

There is very greate need of small mony heere, if it agrees with Your Lordships good liking that I may have procured a liberty to make and stampe a sort of copper and tinne money which is very requisite for these parts. They call it pice, whereof $13\frac{3}{4}$ makes a shilling; that of tin are called bazarookoes,[1] whereof 16 goes for a pice; there being much cozenage used both in the one and the other. I shall therefor humbly recommend to Your Lordship that a certaine quantity of copper bee sent hither in plates, such as the Company use to send for Suratt. I doe assure Your Lordship it will make some addition to His Majesties treasurie and revenue.

To Gary, therefore, must be given the credit of proposing a coinage scheme which was carried out, on a larger scale, four years later.[2] He had, however, no opportunity of following up this or any other project for the good of the island, as at this juncture occurred the transfer of Bombay to the Company's representatives.

I had proceeded thus farre, and was very busie upon our fortifications (which should have been very substantially done with stone and lime and should not have cost His Majesty one penny), when comes advise from Suratt that His Majesty had made a deed of guift of this island *cum pertinentiis* to the Honourable Easte India

[1] Port. *bazarucco*. A note by James Adams (*c.* 1671) says: 'The coines that accompts are kept in on this island are zeraphins, larrees, and raes. . . . The raes are imaginary, 10 of which makes a pice. But the currant money is zeraphins, pice, and bugarookes, $23\frac{1}{4}$ pice one zeraphine, and 16 bugarookes one pice. A rupee is worth 1 zeraphine, 72 raes, and 10 rupees is 13 zeraphins' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ii. p. 92).

[2] See my article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. vi.

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Company for ever; which somewhat surprized mee and left mee in suspence and great doubt what to doe, till the 21th passed, when arrived the *Constantinople Merchant* in this port, with Mr. John Goodier and Capt. Henry Young, who brought mee His Majesties privy seale; according to the tenour of which I surrendred the island, with the apurtenancies, into theyr hands the 23th detto, having punctually payd all the soldiers theyr due, particolarly also the newcome men their arrieres, though never received a penny from Sir George Oxinden of the 1000*l.* enordered for this garrison. Some of them refused at first to serve the Company, but afterwards they were perswaded to it. . . . Now all things are in a quiet posture upon the island, the soldiers being continued still in their respective places and in the Companies service with the same pay; to which I myselfe exhorted them to bee willing to stay.

He enclosed the receipt given to him by the commissioners, and also a list of the revenues; and he begged for a formal discharge for the money recovered from Lucas's estate. 'One argument that I used to procure that mony of Sir Gervase was that I intended therewith to build him a tombe answerable to his worth'; and Gary trusted that the monument would be erected accordingly. He forwarded an account of receipts and expenditure during his government. If further details were wanted, he would supply them; 'which I should have done at present by a personall appearance, takeing my passage on this shipp, had I been in a capacity.'

I have now done my uttmost possible to serve His Majesty in my spheare wherein I was placed; and if I may goe off with an honourable exit in His Majesties and Your Lordships esteeme . . . it will bee no small satisfaction to mee, who am the more contented with this revolution and vicissitude of changeable affaires in regard the disposure hath been made into such worthy hands; which though I had occasion to contest withall, in zeale to my royall master, yet I desire now all may bee forgotten.

The account of receipts and disbursements (22 May, 1667, to 23 September, 1668) referred to in this letter will be found at ff. 97, 98 of the same volume.[1] The value of what he took over at Lucas's death (including 388*l.* 11*s.* 6¾*d.* in cash) was set down as 1,631*l.* 4*s.* 0¾*d.*; the revenues received since amounted to 9,402*l.* 12*s.* 8¼*d.*; and

[1] For a modern transcript see p. 29 of *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 49 (India Office). Bruce printed a summary at p. 238 of the second volume of his *Annals*.

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536*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* had been recovered from Lucas's estate. These three items gave a total of 11,570*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* The details of the revenues were as follows: coco-nuts sold, 33,150 *zerafins*, 1 *lāri*, 48 *reis*; customs receipts, 18,920. 0. 19; tobacco monopoly (to 8 October), 14,662. 1. 40; rent of taverns, 3,224. 1. 40; rents of 'Bombaim', 6,776. 0. 54; rents of Mazagaon, 7,701. 1. 25; rents of Māhīm, 8,253. 1. 36; rents of 'Verulim' [Warli], 210. 0. 49; paid by Hinmers on account of 'aldea[1] Verulim', 591. 1. 40; received for 'batte' [paddy], 375. 1. 16; rent for Pateca island,[2] 21. 0. 0; goods sold in Persia, 1,548. 2. 61; received from Francisco Murzelo [Coutinho], formerly Customer of Māhīm,[3] 8,864. 1. 00; fines and penalties, 383. 2. 62; rice (on hand), 3,968. 0. 73. Total, 108,652 *zerafins*, 1 *lāri*, 3 *reis*. This amount was converted into sterling at the rate of 13 *zerafins* to 22*s.* 6*d.* (ten rupees).

On the other side of the account was entered pay to the soldiers to 3 October (including Gary's own salary), 5,300*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*; stable charges, 245*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*; various contingent payments (details not given), 415*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.*; powder and saltpetre, 272*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*; spent on the fortifications (apart from payment in 'corne'), 363*l.* 17*s.* 11½*d.*; building and repairing houses, 82*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*; sail-cloth used by the gunners, 10*l.* 10*s.*; total, 6,691*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* The amount handed over to the commissioners (including the amount recovered from Lucas's estate), as detailed on p. 68, was 4,879*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*, thus balancing the account.

To Williamson Gary wrote on 5 October (*ibid.*, f. 128[4]), stating that he was busy making over to the commissioners the royal property on the island. 'This unexpected change hath something troubled mee. However, I hope that His Sacred Majesty, My Lord Arlington, and yourselfe will make the Governour and Committees of the said Company sensible of my fidellity and that I ought to bee by them well remunerated.' He had sent to Thomas Povey, for presentation to Williamson, a box containing a cordial stone, a bezoar stone, and six cornelian rings; and, for presentation to Lord Arlington, a 'Japan stick with a gold head'.

Another letter was forwarded on 10 October to an unnamed

[1] Port. *aldea*, a village or estate. [2] See a note on p. 69 of the 1665–7 volume.

[3] See *ibid.*, p. 306. The total exacted from him was 9,000 *zerafins*, of which 135 *zerafins* 2 *lāris* was received in coco-nuts, while 800 *zerafins* was allowed for his house (taken over for the Māhīm customhouse) and included in the sum here entered.

[4] For a modern transcript see *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 49, p. 34 (I. O.).

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correspondent (*ibid.*, f. 109), who was begged to refresh Lord Arlington's memory as to the need of a Judge Advocate for Bombay, a subject on which Gary had also written to 'My Lord Keeper Bridgeman'.[1] He had sent Povey the details of his disputes with Foxcroft and with Aungier, and was particularly desirous that the latter should not 'carry his cause'. 'It would cause much insulting and triumph at Suratt, where His Majesties proffit and honour is ever postponed to their owne; and I am sure none was ever so much against His Majesties intresse in these parts and settling upon this island as the said Aungier.' The transfer of the government would give Gary less reason to trouble him in future with correspondence, but he begged for his protection against his enemies and his recommendation of him to the Company, who, he trusted, 'will bee so noble as to reward me well.' Anything he might in his zeal have said against that body he now desired should 'evaporate in oblivion'.

It is time now to turn from the State Papers to the records of the East India Company and trace in detail the history of the transfer of Bombay to the representatives of that body. The circumstances in which it was decided in England to make over that island to the Company have been described in the preceding volume, which noted also the grant of letters patent to the Company for that purpose on 27 March, 1668. The 'Committees' were, of course, expecting the document, and in a letter of the same date they announced to the Surat Council the cession of the island and gave instructions for taking possession of it without delay.

His Majestie hath bin pleased to bestow upon the Company the island of Bombay, with all the rights, proffitts, territories, and apurtenances thereof whatsoever, and all and singuler royalties, revenews, rents, customes, castles, forts, buildings, and fortifications, priviledges, franchizees, preheminences, and hereditaments whatsoever within the same premisees or to them or any of them belonging etc. And as wee are to take posession thereof at the arriveall of our ships, soe it will bee under our government and at our charge for the future. And this wee the rather accepted of to prevent all animosities and inconveniencies that might arrise by misunderstandings betweene you and such as His Majestie should have apointed to reside in that place. Wee herewith send you

[1] Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who had been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1667.

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"His Majesties charter for the resigning and delivery of the said island to us, with our comission[1] to Sir George Oxinden, Mr. John Goodier, Mr. Gerrald Aungier, Mr. Randolph Taylor, Mr. Thomas Rolt, Mr. Henry Younge, Mr. Henry Garie, Mr. Mathew Gray, Mr. Strensham Maisters, Mr. Caesar Chambrelan, and Mr. James Adams, or any twoe or more of you, to receive and take posession thereof for our use. For the better manadgment of this and other our affaires this yeare and to have our ships the sooner reladen, wee doe endeavour to get them soe timely dispeeded from hence that they may arrive timely upon the coast of India; and therefore have ordred the comanders that, if they arrive there by any time in August, that then they endeavour to make Bombay their first port (as judging of it most safe), and have apointed [*blank*] to take posession of the island and stores, and forthwith to advise you of their arriveall and receipt of them, and there to remaine untill they shall receive orders from you, to whome to committ the government thereof; for wee have forborne to apoint persons to any perticuler places, for that wee doe wholy leave the government and direction of the same unto you (but have apointed the ships to take the first oportunity to come unto you). And the reasons hereof are because you understand better upon the place whoe are most fitt to bee imployed, and how to manadge and settle affaires there, then wee from hence can direct, and that both factors and soldiers may bee the better subjected to your orders and directions. The which to effect, wee thinck it most convenient that the person whome you apoint to bee Cheife there bee one of our factors, that may, with the advice of such as you shall apoint of his Counsell, have the direction of the soldiers and millitary affaires as well as the civell government, comerce, and trade; and that such officers as shall be apointed by you bee under the Cheife as their superiour upon the place, and the Cheife and all the rest under your government. Having the posession of this island, wee desire that things may bee so manadged as that wee may not only make it beare its owne charge but that it may bee to our honnor and proffitt; and therefore for the better government thereof, wee shall give you severall directions and instructions in a writing apart. And for the better setling of comerce there, as wee would have you observe our instructions as to the establishing of a good government, so wee would have you endeavour to incorage the natives that are there and invite others to come thither, and to promote the making of salt and the raising of any

[1] This document is entered at p. 165 of the *Letter Books*, vol. iv.

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other comodities, either by manufacture, planting, or otherwise, that may bee vendible in those parts, as well as in Europe. And that you doe apoint a stock of monie and all sorts of Europe comodities to bee alwaies ready there, thereby to invite the natives along the coast that, when they come to lade salt, that they bring with them pepper, dungarrees, dutties, and other sorts of course or fine cloth, or any other comodities vendible with us. And give comission to the Cheife and Counsell there to treate all that shall come to them with civillity and kindnesse, and to give them encoradgment by taking off their comodities at faire and reasonable rates, that soe it may invite the greater concourse of trade to that place. Wee also would have you, as soone as may bee, to put the inhabitants upon making of such callicoes as they are capeable off, although they shall bee the courser at first, that in time they may atteyne to the making of better. And least that they should want cotton for that purpose, wee would have you to procure the bringing off it downe out of the country, or the conveighing of it to them by sea, which may bee most convenient. Wee commend this to your espetiall care, for that wee would very willingly have some manufacture under our owne government; and the making of callicoes is that which the people in India are most apt unto (and which in some measure is there already) and a comoditie which is most vendible in Europe. Wee desire you also to contrive the best way for the making of this place a port for the importation and exportation of goods and persons to and from Persia, the Redd Sea, and other places, and incoragement for trading merchants to inhabite there; the which, as it will be done by good government and moderate customes, so by having of ships at the seasons of the yeare to goe from thence to Persia, the Redd Sea, etc. And for a begining hereof, wee desire you to acquaint merchants (in what way you thinck best) against what times shipping will be ready to saile from thence. And though at the first you cannot expect many, yet wee thinck it convenient that you imploy the *Chestnutt* pinck, and to get some other vessell for the present for to bee there, either to take in goods, if there shall be any, for Persia or the Redd Sea, and to make up their loading with some groffe [i. e. coarse] goods for our accompt that may beare the charge and turne to proffitt. But in case you understand there will be none, that then you get fraight for them from Surratt, one to Persia and the other to the Redd Sea; and apoint them in their retorne to declare that, if any merchants will lade any goods or passengers for Bombay, that they will enterteine them and carry them thither, though it bee but a small fraight at

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this begining. And advise us by your next what shipping wilbe fitting for the encoradging of this affaire, that wee may send you them from hence accordingly. As wee have apointed you in a preceeding paragraph that, if our ships arrive on the coast in August, that then they first make Bombay, soe wee have ordred that, if it bee September before they make the coast, that then they come directly to you to Surratt; and in such case, then those intended in the comission to have received the island of Bombay at their first arriveall are not to act any thinge therein, for that wee wholy leave it to your directions, to send whome you thinck fitt to take posession thereof and to manadge affaires there, and from time to time to follow such orders and instructions as they shall receive from you. Wee have had some thoughts whither it would bee convenient that our President by his owne presence and authoritie should settle our affaires at Bombay; but considring how much his continuing at Surratt will conduce to the speedy relading of our shipping, and also least the natives should bee distasted at his sudaine departure from Surratt, wee leave it wholy to him either to doe or not to doe it, as hee shall find most convenient. But if hee shall resolve upon it, then to take such time as hee shall thinck most fitt for that purpose. You will see by the agreement with His Majesty that wee are to enterteyne all soldiers that are upon the place that shall desire to remayne there and wee thinck fitt to continue; and for others that wee are to give them passage in our ships home. Wee supose there will be but a few of those which will desire to returne, when under good government and ascerteined of their pay. But for such as shall desire to returne home, or you not thinck fitt to continue, that you apoint them convenient passages, deviding them into the severall ships. And that in perticuler you doe act with all kindnesse, civillity, and respect to Sir Jarvaies Lucas, and provide him good accomodation in the ship, fitt for a gentleman of his quallitie. Wee doe send you the fewer soldiers this yeare, for that wee know not well what nomber will be necessary for the place and that wee are uncerteine whither those now sent for the Fort[1] will be there imployed; if they should not, wee have ordred them, with such as should remaine at Bantam of those which came from Pollaroone, to come for Bombay. Soe that, when you have knowledg of what are already upon the island and what others may come, then consider what nomber wilbe necessarie and advise us thereof, and also what artificers, ordnance, and amunition wilbe needfull, and wee shall

[1] Fort St. George, Madras.

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accordingly suply you. Wee desire you to put the soldiery there upon such imployments, either by planting, building, or otherwaies, as may keepe them out of idlenes, bee a meanes to add to their comfortable subsistance, and in time ease us of charge; for that wee desire to have a greater nomber of soldiers for the defence of the place, that should remayne at halfe pay and dwell in their owne howses, then wee would willingly have if they were at whole pay, and the more there are the easier the service will bee. And this wee desire the soldiers may bee acquainted with, that they may bee the more industrious to put themselves into the waies of livelyhood and fitting themselves with convenient habitations. And wee shall then, upon your advice, endeavour to procure the civellest English woemen and send them unto you, that wee may have a collony of English in time to continue on the island, and that they may live with more comfort and in the feare of God. Wee also conclude it wilbe very necessary and conducible to the safety of the island in times of danger that a melitia or trayned band bee raised of the inhabitants of the said island. Wee desire that those whome you shall apoint to take the charge of Bombay may have perticuler instructions from you to give an acknowledgment to Sir Jarvaies Lucas for the receipt of the island, if he shall require it, as also for all artillery, amunition, stores, and what elce shall be delivered by him into their posessions; duplicat whereof wee desire may be sent unto us. And take perticuler notice what the revenues are, and care for the receipt thereof in a regular way; which revenew wee understand to be 34,000 pardoes,[1] or 2,833. 6. 8*d.* per annum, accompting the pardoe at 20*d.* sterling; which ariseth as followeth, vizt. the stance [2] of tobaccoe, rented at 12,000 pardoes per annum: the cotto,[3] or whetting of knives, 2,000 pardoes: salt, rented at 1,000 pardoes: toddy trees, coco nutts, and rice, 12,000 pardoes: custome of bunder [i.e. the port], which belongs to Maim on the island Bombay, produce 5,000 pardoes: rent of arrack, 2,000 pardoes: all which amount to the aforesaid somme of 34,000 pardoes per annum.[4]

Later on in the letter the 'Committees' reverted again to the subject of Bombay. They ordered that, should a large number of soldiers apply for repatriation, no more than twenty should be

[1] The *pardao* was the same as the *zerafin*.

[2] Port. *estanque*, a monopoly (see p. 72 of the preceding volume).

[3] See a note at p. 49 of the last volume.

[4] These figures were out of date at the time of writing; but they are interesting as showing what the Company thought they were acquiring.

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granted in any one year, for fear of weakening the garrison too much. William Minchin, one of the soldiers there, should be allowed to go home among the first. Lucas's secretary, Samuel Burgess, had been given a good character and his mother had asked that he should be taken into the Company's employment; this should be done accordingly. Henry Gary should also be given such employment 'as you shall find his abillities and merritts to deserve'.

Wee did intend, as in a clawse in this our letter is intimated, to have sent you a paper of perticuler directions and instructions for the establishing rules for the well government of Bombay; but in reguard wee find that cannot soe well be done till wee have a perticuler knowledg of the nature, condition, and quallity of the people there, and in what manner administration of justice hath there formerly bin practized and how it may bee most agreable to foundations of justice and righteousnes and also most pleasing and suiteable to the inhabitants, wee for present doe deferr the same; and desire you by the first to advise us of all the former perticulers, and to suggest to us what you conceive most propper to bee setled as standing rules in order to the ends aforesaid, in reference both to religion, civell government, and comerce; wherein wee pray you to bee very serious and perticuler. In the meane time wee leave all to your prudent and discreete manadgment, as you shall find most for the glorie of God, comon equitie, and advance of our concernes; in order to which you may make use of as much of the directions sent you in print [see p. 18] for religious and civell government of our factories, and of what written in this our gennerall letter, as you shall judg convenient for the time. Wee did purpose, as in a preceeding section is mentioned, to have given a commission to severall persons now coming forth, in case they arrived on the coast of India any time in August, to have gone to Bombay and have taken posession thereof; but the time of the yeare being now farr spent, wee have waved the same and ordred our ships to come directly to your port.

With this letter went one of the same date to Sir Gervase Lucas (whose death was not known in London), informing him of the arrangements made for the transfer, requesting his assistance therein, and intimating that arrangements had been made for his return passage; while on 4 April a brief note was addressed to the President and Council at Surat, forwarding a copy of the articles for the surrender of Dunkirk in 1658, since by the charter the Roman

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Catholics of Bombay were to enjoy the same freedom of religion as was granted to their co-religionists on that occasion.

These letters, received from the *Constantinople Merchant* upon her arrival at the beginning of September, were taken into consideration at a consultation held in the third of that month.[1] For the reasons opined by the Company, Oxenden did not think it prudent to leave Surat, but proposed instead to send Goodier, Young (both of these were personal friends of Gary), Streynsham Master, and Coates. This was agreed to, and it was decided that they should proceed to Bombay in the *Constantinople Merchant* as soon as she could be unladen. Goodier was to remain on the island as Chief, with the three others as his Council.[2]

Four days later another meeting of the Council took place,[3] to consider the Company's intimation that they were prepared to supply from England any small vessels that might be needed for trade between Bombay and other ports. It was concluded that a preferable plan would be to build these at Bombay itself, and that two, of 200 and 300 tons respectively, should be put in hand accordingly.

The *Constantinople Merchant* was accompanied by the *Bantam* and a small local vessel named the *Nakdi*. Bombay was reached on the evening of 21 September, and Goodier sent on shore Young and Coates to deliver King Charles's letter ordering the surrender of the island, with a note from Goodier to Gary. The latter replied in cordial terms the following morning, and fixed the 23rd as the day most suitable for the ceremony of the transfer. The subsequent proceedings are thus described in a letter of 28 September, from Goodier, Young, and Coates to the Surat Council.[4]

At our landing we were mett by Governour Gary etc. officers, who, at the head of their severall companies military drawne up by the sea side, received us with very much respect and ceremony, and soe accompanyed us into the fort; where Governour Gary caused all the soldiers to make their approach toward us in military

[1] Printed in Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay State Papers, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 224, and in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi. pt. i. p. 29.

[2] Extracts from their commission, dated 12 September, are given at p. 51 of vol. 2 of *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*. From these it appears that Goodier was made Chief for military as well as for civil affairs.

[3] Forrest, op. cit., p. 225; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi. pt. i. p. 30.

[4] Printed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi. pt. i. p. 31.

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order, first being by the cheife officers commanded to lay downe their armes and to march towards us without them, yet in decent ranke. And there in the head of them all he made a short speech, much in the honour and praise of the Honourable Company, and caused His Majesties privy seale to be publiquely read; at which the officers and soldiers for the generality were well pleased that His Majestie had disposed the island to the Honourable Company, to whome they owned obedience. After which we caused the Companies commission (in parchment) to the President and Council, together with your commission to us, to be also read publiquely; which being done, they marched back to their armes and tooke them up for the Honourable Company; when John Goodier made a short speech, to encourag and confirme them in their obedience, by assureing every man his former quality and pay, Capt. Gary excepted; who at present is very buisily employed in making up severall accompts; which being effected, he intends to deliver the ballance in unto us, and promises his utmost endeavour and assistance in the Companies service; which we have reason to beleive, because that hitherto he hath mett all our desires with a ready compliance; indeed, it is beyond what we could expect, and therefore we humbly request he may be looked upon accordingly. The severall officers, as Capt. Toldery, Lieut. Burges, Lieut. Haughton, Ensigne Gollopher, Ensigne Langford, were very instrumentall in their severall degrees and stations to promote our desires and further the Companies intrest, when divers soldiers deserted their service and with their mutinous example had like to have infected many more, who layed down their armes, denying any future service; wherefore we were enforced to confine them in a roome, in order to sending them on bord; which when they saw, they used the mediano [1] of Capt. Toldery that they might be admitted to their armes again, promising much obedience for the future. They were received accordingly; only lost this by their refractoriness, [that] that civility and kindness we intended to shew them we are now enforced to exchange for a more reserved demeanour.

The position left vacant by Lieut. Price was claimed by Lieut. (John) Burgess; while (Herbert) Haughton and (Reynolds) Langford desired to be treated as lieutenant and ensign respectively, though their rank was only provisional. The commissioners much desired the presence of the President to settle these disputes, or else

[1] Apparently the Portuguese *mediação* (mediation) is intended.

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orders for commissions to be issued to the claimants. Samuel Burgess had likewise requested to be confirmed in his place, according to the general promise given; this was recommended for approval, as also the fixing of his salary.

As for giveing the Englishmen encouragment to earne a penny by setting and planting and breeding of hogs and ducks etc., tis a worke of tyme and requires rather our observation and study, than further reply. As for hogs and ducks, they have been looked upon as the annoyances of this island in the tyme of corn, being wont to break down and through the best fences that the husbandry of this island affords; so that (as we are informed) proclamations have been issued out for their destroying as often as they are found upon the corne. And according to your orders we shall deferre setting of land to that purpose till Your Honours comeing, which for many weighty reasons we desire may be with all convenient speed. The Portugeese and Gentues etc. inhabitants have made their congratulatory addresses, the former petitioning us for mercy and redress, being much oppressed, espetially in the behalfe of orphans and widowes, whome they pretend to be deprived of their lands; to which we gave them a civil answer, encourageing them, according to order, that they shall have all faire redress at the Presidents arrival, which we hoped to be sudaine. So they returned to their habitations well satisfied. As for the settleing of the customes, we shall punctually obeserve your orders, by giving all encouragement to merchants; and to that purpose have settled Mr. Cotes at Mahim, and for the present are necessitated to appoint Mr. Francis in Bumbaim, who hath orders to comply with the merchants according to your directions to us.

Particulars were promised later of 'the buisness of Cullian Buinde' [*see the* 1661–4 *volume*, p. 10] and 'concerning Tanna and Bandora'. The commissioners had been too busy to inquire into these matters, 'and talking so much as some of us have lost our voices'. 'Capt. Gary makes no dispute of mony or any thing else, but promises with all expedition to surrender up to us whatever is here or in Surat or Persia. So that his readinesse shows his sincerity for the Companies service; which he hopes you will in convenient tyme consider.' Information would be furnished later regarding the tobacco licences and rents of coco-nuts, &c. Of 'the soldiers that are mariners', only two debauched seamen had refused to enter the Company's service, and these had been sent aboard the

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Constantinople Merchant. The *Chestnut* pink was already in great part repaired, and the work was being hastened. According to order, Henry White had been placed in command of her, with Francis Morewood as boatswain. Gary had been promised a formal acquittance for the island, &c., 'authenticated in what manner will best content him'. Timber and other materials were being collected for building the intended vessels.

More will shortly be procured, after we have learnt the experience of these parts, which may give us further light into what you mention concerning the Portuguese customes, and we doe not doubt but expedience may be found to regulate their actions. Hergee Moody [1] we shall advise withall concerning the timber at a more leisurable tyme; in the meane tyme we have used arguments to perswaid him to be honest and industrious, as he promises.

Broadcloth for sale was asked for. William Minchin had decided to stay at Bombay. Streynsham Master was returning in the *Constantinople Merchant* (which was now about to sail), in accordance with the President's instructions; he had been very helpful and his colleagues regretted his departure. Young had been placed in charge of Gary's company of soldiers.[2] He intended also to take up shortly his duties as accountant, and John Martyn had been appointed to assist him. Peter Stephenson, a soldier who had been 'very mutinous and refractory', had been found drowned in a well. 'Mudan' [Madan] had been permitted to return to Surat, at his earnest request. His assistance had proved so valuable that it was hoped he would be sent back again, together with two carpenters and two bricklayers, whose services were wanted for 'adding some necessary building to the house'. 'One Mr. Thomas du Plessis, a French gentleman of quality that came over with Sir Abraham Shipman', and was now desirous of returning to England, had been granted a passage in the ship. Copper and alum had been taken out of the latter for sale. 'Ramsinai,[3] the Portugal scrivan, is so necessary for his knowledg of all the affaires of the island, by his so long residence here, that we are forced to make use of him, desireing your approbation.' Finally, the dispatch of a seal was requested.

By the same conveyance went a note from Gary to Oxenden,

[1] Harji the *modi* (house-steward).

[2] Hence Young's (and Gary's) title of Captain.

[3] Ram[chandra] Shenvi.

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intimating that, in obedience to His Majesty's instructions, he had made over Bombay to the commissioners 'on Wednesday the 23th, in the morning'.

The dispatch of the *Bantam* to Surat about a week later gave Goodier and his colleagues an opportunity of making a further report (6 October). In this they said:

We have informed our selves of Chaul, Tanna, and Bandora, concerning the weavers of silkes and stuffes, and we finde that in Bandora there are none; in Tanna many; (in Chaul there are seaven hundred families, who make at least five thousand peeces of taffatas and severall sorts of stuffes yearly.) Their silke is most Bengala; the charge and duties of the same you may conjecture. The weavers of both places we doubt not (by the blessing of God) to draw hither to the inriching and ennobling of this island. One of the greatest matters of import to your present designes is that of timber, whereof five hundred peeces yearly may be procured out of the Portugese country, at the same price the Captain of Basaim buyes it himselfe: which if he consents not to, we know no reason we should furnish him from hence with cairo [coir], stope [1] or caulking stuffe, and oloes or cajans,[2] which they have only from us, God, in His wise providence for mutuall amity and entercourse, so ordaining it that one countrey should exchange supplyes to the defects of another. In the meane tyme . . . it is our opinion you may more conveniently fetch your timber from Gundavee and Ballsar,[3] where is the best and cheapest in the judgment of the most knowing here. It is not to be forgott that good store of iron be sent for out of England, for the greatest scarcity in these parts we find to be iron worke. Those places you mentioned, as Curmalla, Achary, Nawly, Bulletta, Raum, and Nagger,[4] upon inquirie we find are not so convenient, for that the timber of those places must come through the Portugese country. We are informed from Capt. Gary that he hath made a reasonable good progresse in amicable correspondence with the Governour Obdollackaan [Abdulla Khān] and Diwan Merzacherimbim [5] of Cullian and Buinde, who advised him that they had written to the Prince, Sultan Mazum, at Orangabaad that he [Gary] might have a port on the other side of this bay, called Penne,[6] from whence

1 Probably Port. *estopa*, tow or oakum. 2 *Ola* and *cadjan* both mean a palm-leaf.
3 Gandevi is about 30, and Balsār about 40 miles south of Surat.
4 These places have not been identified.
5 As appears later, the name intended is Mīrza Karīm Beg.
6 Pen, in Kolāba District, on the Bhagavati Creek, about 10 miles from its mouth.

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there is an inroade both into Indostan and Decan, and the way good. Tis true it lies in Sevages country; but as Sevagee is become Orangshahs vassall, he is to doe whatsoever is commanded by the Prince. This Penne he [Gary] had in his eye by reason of Tanna and great obstruction to the passage up to Cullian and Buinde, it lying betweene Bumbaim and Cullian and Buinde;[1] the Portugeeses being so unkind neighbours to us that they will not lett us pass by Tanna without paying excessive customes: wherefore there is a necessity of contriveing some mean[s] expedient with the King of Portugal from the Company, to have those arbitrary exactions taken off; which may be grounded upon the originall graunt of this island to the King of England, it being very improbable that the King of Portugal gave his brother of England a house without a doore for free egresse and regresse. No stone has been left unturn'd here to remove this difficulty and to gaine more favourable priviledge, which is impossible to be procured in these parts, as the experience of frustrated endeavours gives us to understand, it being the only errand of Mr. Hynmers, envoyd to Goa, who could effect nothing.

One of the residents of the island, named 'Cojah Alladin' [Khwāja Alā-uddīn], was going to the Prince on private affairs, and had promised to do his best to further the Company's business. At a slight expense 'a mole and a dry dock or two' might be constructed, and these would be very useful. Engineers were much wanted. Supplies of paper and sealing-wax were desired.

It would be expedient also to procure a stamp for copper and tinne for small mony of exchange, which is much wanted on this island. . . . But above all these our other wants we most earnestly recommend to your care the procureing us a Judge Advocate, for desideing the causes of meum and tuum among these litigius people, who are more querulous than the French themselves, but are overruled by the civil law, for the declaring of which such a person is indispensable necessary. Having thus expressed our care for the Law, we must have noe lesse for the Gospell, an able minister of which we very much want and desire, and humbly presse you to mind the Company to send us one. We shall have great occasions for a prudent, knowing, and dilligent man to be supervisor over the buildings and preserving the stoore of ironworke of the prementioned two ships.[a] The soldiers being since mustred before us, we herewith send the lists or rolls of them. . . .

[1] This was incorrect. Pen lies to the south-east of Bombay.

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We need some saloos [1] for making of a new flag, white, read, and blew, which you may please to send us, if you thinke fitt to keep up the Kings colours; if not, white and read will be sufficient. We have enquired into the yearly revenues of the whole island, and find them to be xs.[2] 77,087. 02. 73 rees; something being lesened out of the aldea of Mazagã, being burdensome to the inhabitants, and what was payed to the collectors of the customes deducted. The savatals [3] or yearly rent-rolles are here sent for your satisfaction.

Gary's 'accompt of remaines' was forwarded; also a copy of the discharge given to him. A list of medicines required was enclosed. Many of the soldiers were sick of 'the flux [dysentery], the epidemical disease of this place, for which the best and most approved remedie is the marmalad of Bussora',[4] a supply of which was requested. Inquiries made at Bāndra showed that calicoes could be obtained there at the rate of ten pieces daily. Patterns were sent of a kind 'called here taupe'. Each piece was 20½ 'coveds' [5] long by nearly a 'coved' broad, and would cost 25 rupees, unbleached. Joseph Hinmers had remained for a time to help in the accounts. He had been of great assistance, and could give the President and Council a full account of the island. Lists of stores in hand, and of others required, were forwarded; also Gary's statement of the 'remaines' handed over to the commissioners. A soldier named John Rutland was being sent to Surat, and was recommended for a passage home. A new bible for the chapel was needed, the existing one being 'much worne'. In a postscript Oxenden was again urged to come to Bombay, where his presence was much needed, especially in regard to the 'letting of land for emprovement'.

After this letter are entered (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105, pp. 21–8 and 52) its enclosures, which included a copy of the receipt given to Gary for the island, a list of stores remaining,[6] muster rolls of the two companies (containing in all 20 officers, &c., 124 privates, at ninepence a day, and 54 topasses, at five *zerafins* a month), a list of stores required, a list of European goods wanted for sale, a list of

[1] *Sālu* (see the preceding volume, p. 27). [2] *Xerafins* or *zerafins* (see *ibid.*, p. 45).

[3] Mr. Edwardes suggests that this is derived (through Port. *savastae*) from the Marāthi *savā*, a tax of 1¼ per cent. The word is given as 'savastall' later.

[4] Possibly the 'marmalate of dates' mentioned in Herbert's *Travels* (1634, p. 168).

[5] Port. *covado*, a cubit or Flemish ell.

[6] For copies of both see also P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. ff. 91, 93.

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'the staffe officers', and the rent-rolls already mentioned. The staff officers were John Bird, chirurgeon, Thomas Farley (his mate), William Gorbutt (his assistant), John Petter, provost marshal, Walter Gollopher, storekeeper, two gunner's mates, two 'montrosses' [1] or assistants to the gunner, an armourer and his assistant. The statement of 'remaines' transferred [2] is interesting. There was the *Chestnut* pink, valued at about 3,377 *zerafins*; a sloop (780 *zerafins*), and a 'ballaon' [3] or boat (163 *zerafins*); 17 horses, 2 oxen, and a four-wheel coach; two houses at Bombay and one at Māhīm, which had cost altogether about 3,327 *zerafins*; diamonds in the custody of Anthony Smith at Surat (6,562 *zerafins*); twelve carbines and two other guns; rice in store (3,968 *zerafins*); plate to the value of about 4,241 *zerafins*; timber (about 4,126 *zerafins*); household stuff [4] (571 *zerafins*); good debts (about 1,614 *zerafins*); cash paid in Goa by Juan de Prado to Randolph Taylor (1,114 *zerafins*); cash paid to the commissioners (about 17,869 *zerafins*). The total was 50,181 *zerafins*, 41 *reis*, which, converted at the rate of 13 *zerafins* to 10 rupees (2*s*. 3*d*. each), gave 4,342*l*. 12*s*. To this was added 536*l*. 15*s*. 1*d*., recovered by Gary from Lucas's estate, making a grand total of 4,879*l*. 7*s*. 1*d*.

The two rent-rolls were for 'Bombaim and jurisdiction' and for 'Mahim and its jurisdiction' respectively, and were dated 31 July.[5] The former is divided into two parts, the first being apparently the receipts for Bombay itself, the other the revenues of Mazagaon. The Bombay total was 46,049 *zerafins*, 1 *lāri*, 61 *reis*, made up of 'battee', 1,189. 2. 57; 'bandarins [see later] tribute,' 652. 2. 30; 'colouria,[6] or fishermens tribute', 3,718. 0. 65; coco-nuts, 8,806. 0. 0; rents of 'the hill Vaulquessen' [Wālkeshwar], 39. 1. 3; 'foros or out rent', 902. 0. 66; rent of warehouses, 66. 0. 0; 'stanck of tobacco',

[1] Cf. Fryer (ed. Crooke, vol. i. p. 105). The word is more familiar in its later form of 'matross'.

[2] For another copy see P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 92.

[3] A barge (Marāthi *balyānw*). Fryer calls it 'baloon'.

[4] This included a 'greate velvett chaire of state, cost x. 50'; twelve chairs with white frames and gilt nails (x. 78); nine chairs with 'shisham' frames and gilt nails (x. 100); a saddle covered with velvet (x. 25); and a new palanquin (x. 200).

[5] Besides the copies in *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105 (pp. 23, 24), others will be found at pp. 44, 45 of the second volume of the *Miscellaneous* section of the same series. Mr. S. M. Edwardes has printed the two rent-rolls in full in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 54 (1925), p. 1, adding a number of notes on the many puzzling terms used therein.

[6] Mr. Edwardes takes this to be a tax levied on the Kolis for permission to fish in the waters round the island.

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10,225. 0. 0; customs[1] (estimated), 18,000. 0. 0; rent of taverns, 2,450. 0. 0. Mazagaon yielded 8,838 *zerafins* and 48 *reis*, made up of 'colouria', 4,198. 1. 26; 'palmeiras',[2] 1,328. 0. 37; Pateca island, 11. 0. 0; 'battee', 3,262. 0. 40; 'vinzora',[3] 3. 0. 38; 'mangas' [mangoes], 18. 2. 67; 'rent of the botica' [*bodega*, tavern], 16. 0. 0.[4] A note adds that 'there is besides a customes of Henry Due'.[5] The roll for Māhīm totals 22,200 *zerafins* and 44 *reis*, and is made up geographically, thus: Māhīm itself, 14,195. 1. 14, the chief items being battee (350. 2. 57), 'coito' (1,296. 0 .0), 'foros' (1,334. 0. 0), 'palmeeras' (245. 1. 17), shops (72. 0. 0), coco-nuts (10,573. 0. 60), and the ferry between Māhīm and Bāndra (300. 0. 0); 'Matunge',[6] 814. 0. 8 (for 'battee'); 'Dozzory',[7] 267. 0. 64; 'Pero Vaztyas his patty',[8] 536. 1. 40; a place unnamed, 303. 0. 36; 'Mucher and Yas,[9] the ferry yeilds', 94. 2. 17; 'Parella' [Parel], 2,435. 1. 18; 'Vadala', 1,764. 1. 2; 'Sury', 352. 0. 0 (for salt and 'battee'); 'Pomela',[10] 21. 1. 35 (for a 'marinho'[11] of salt); 'Coltem and Bommanelli',[12] 211. 0. 65; 'Veryly' [Warli], 1,204. 1. 65.

The next letter from Goodier and Young was dated 10 October, and acknowledged the receipt of most of the goods, &c., of which Gary had promised the transfer. It was proposed to send men to Chaul and Thāna to inquire into the weaving industries at those places and to encourage the weavers to migrate to Bombay.

Which wee have cause to beleive to bee a facile worke, the rather for that all the merchants and tradesmen round aboutt are very much pleased that this island is become the Honnourable Companies, and seeme very well contented with the present government, freedome, and quicke and easy dispatches at the custome house. Some dayes since wee have had sad complaints by way of petition

[1] It is noted that during Lucas's administration the customs produced 5,435 *zerafins*, 0. 56, and during Gary's 18,920 *zerafins*, 0. 19.

[2] Apparently a tax on coco-nut gardens.

[3] 'Vinzera' in the second copy. The meaning is doubtful.

[4] These items, however, give only 8,837. 2. 48 as the total.

[5] Either the island of Underi, at the mouth of the harbour, or else Hog Island, which is called Henry Kenry in Fryer's map.

[6] Matunga, a little to the south-east of Māhīm.

[7] Mr. Edwardes suggests that this is Dharavi, between Māhīm and Riwa Fort.

[8] Marāthi *patti* means both an estate and the tax on it.

[9] The second copy reads 'Andeas' in place of 'and Yas'.

[10] Pomalla, a hamlet of Parel.

[11] Port. *marinha*, a salt-pit.

[12] 'Bommarelly' in the second copy. Mr. Edwardes identifies these places as Coltem and Bamnoli, two villages north of Parel.

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from widdows and orphans etc. for unjustly detaining severall their lands and houses by the former governors, wherein they have bin censured to have shewed themselves more pollitiques then Christians; consulting more the pay of their souldiers then acts of justice. But all these things our poore petitioners promise themselves redresse in from the present government; and while they are pursued by pressing wants on every side, they take sanctuary in the goodnesse of Sir George our Governor, whose coming they with much impatience attend, not doubting but hee will bring releife along with him. There have bin complaints alsoe made of too much exaction and severity in matters of the customes (which lessens the wonder of emproving them to that height they are growne too); which in the meane time have given discouradgementt to the merchantts by soe greate rigour, as well as by delaying their dispatches. The inconveniencyes of both, according to your order, wee shall endeavour to redresse by our moderation and expedition. . . . Wee conceive it very necessary to have an honest, knowing man from Suratt to goe to buy cattle from the maine; a thing much wanted here. . . . [P.S.] Since the conclusion of these a man is brought to us from Mahim with the accusation of having murdered his wife, who was found drown'd in a well; his mother alsoe is brought in to us for the same crime. Wee have secured both in duresse. The proofes are too too evident, and questionlesse it would goe hard with them at a court martiall; which wee deferr till Your Honours coming or further order for our proceedings.

Another letter followed four days after, which gave the following intelligence:

Yesterday wee received two letters from the Governor, Obdollochan, and Diwan, Merza Cariem Beague, by two messengers, both persons of condition, attended with thirty men. The purport was kind congratulation and assurance of affection and respect to us . . . desiring much that an English factory were settled there. Wee gave them free entertainement, according to the custome here, and dismis'd them very well satisfyed as to the present state of the government, which they had heard much of and earnestly coveted to see. They brought severall merchantts with them to buy goods (as they pretended). Wee hope hereafter to bee soe supplyed as to satisfy them, if in earnest. Wee had greate encouradgement given to us at the same time by the person that convoy'd them, the formerly mentioned Cojah Alladyn, as to the flourishing of this port; who made to us instances of his affectionate respect for

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the English nation and gave us greate hopes of a port at Phaty, custome free; soe that wee shall not need now to concerne ourselves soe much in Tanna as formerly, for anything except onely timber, the conveyance of which overland wilbee too chardgeable, if wee can have it from Gundavee and Balsar, as formerly advised. Things goe on hopefully here still, beyond expectation for soe short a time; all sorts of people being aboundantly satisfyed in this revolution and change of government, who (unlesse their hearts bely their faces) are very much pleased with the same. Wee have enquired concerning the above mentioned port Phaty (which lyes in our view),[1] and wee find the condition of it (by the description of Alladyn, who hath written the enclosed to Sir George) to bee this, vizt. it is a barr'd place and a shole water; soe that any goods thence exported or there imported must bee in vessells, and not in greater shipps. Hee himselfe is gone, leaving his promise behind him of using his uttmost endeavours to procure a free passage for merchants goods to bee transported from the said port to Orangabad without any lett or interruption. . . . At Cullian they have gone forward in the building of a shipp, and make provision for more; wherefore they desire to bee furnished with 30 or 40 iron guns, from 10 to 15 cwt. apiece.

Finally a request was preferred for rose-water, mirrors, knives, sword-blades, watches, &c., 'for the entertainement and presenting of strangers'.

A copy of this letter was dispatched to Surat on 16 October, with an addendum, stating that it was sent by a 'caphila' (i. e. a fleet of small trading vessels), the customs paid by which were expected to realize nearly 3,000 rupees.

The merchants yesterday, meeting us at Mahim, importun'd us for an abatement of ¼ part of former customes; which wee having noe power to graunt, they seemed to bee much discontented; whom to satisfy, wee gave them hopes that there might bee something more hereafter abated to their better content and fuller satisfaction. After which the Povo[2] of Mahim congratulatorily addressed themselves to us, expressing themselves very well contented in the present government. . . . This island wee find much more sickly then other places, the rather (as wee conceive) for that the water hereupon is very bad; wherefore that which wee commonly drinke is fetched from Salsett, there being noe spring upon

[1] Evidently it was some place on the opposite side of the harbour, but it cannot now be identified.

[2] Inhabitants (see the preceding volume, p. 305).

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this island. The private souldiers pay extends not to that charge, and therefore they are incident to severall diseases (for the releife of which wee have supplyed them with part of our store of wine, etc.), insoemuch that the doctors complaint is that the medicines are very scant and unproportionate to their maladies; representing alsoe to us the necessity of two able chirurgions to reside on this place.

The *Chestnut* was nearly completed. The only freight to be procured on the island was rice, and this would not make a valuable cargo.

On 19 October Goodier and his colleague wrote again, in reply to a letter received from Oxenden. Regret was expressed that bricklayers could not be furnished, for those available at Bombay were slow and inefficient; however, they were being employed to fit up the house in preparation for the President's arrival. It was intended to sell most of the horses; also the oxen and coach. A request was made for a dozen 'pedreros [1] or chamber pieces, with three or four chambers to each', for dealing with 'open boates, clearing of deckes, or any use close at hand'.

Two days later a fresh letter was addressed to Surat, from which we learn the striking fact that one of the earliest requests made by the inhabitants to the new governors was for the introduction of the teaching of the English language.

Wee were yesterday petitioned by the Povo that wee would procure them an English schoolemaster or two, to teach their children English; which wee looke on as a considerable matter, both in policy, for cementing us in afection, and (by Gods blessing and assistance) alsoe in piety, for uniting us in religion; the former being noe way better assured then by a mutuall interchange of languages, and the latter being as probable, by the divine benediction, while by the principles of their owne religion they are allowed our sermons (though not our prayers); which when they shall attaine to understand, wee doubt not but by a true pious fraud wee may deceive (or rather undeceive) them into our profession, and by an allowable guile catch them in the nett of the Gospell; for which posterity will have cause to blesse us, or rather the Honnourable Company our masters, whom wee entreate you to sollicitte in this concerne. This morning Cojah Alladyn arrived here with

[1] The meaning given in the dictionaries is 'a swivel gun', but apparently something more elaborate is here intended. The 'chambers' were probably barrels.

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us from Cullian, whether hee had betaken himselfe (as wee advised you in ours of the 4th [14th] detto) to procure us those priviledges and graunts as his diligence and affection have now effected, having soe farre prevailed by his carefull sollicitation of the Diwan, Merza Carien Beague, that hee hath brought him to graunt us the formerly mentioned port Phaty; whereof the said Diwan proffered to come himselfe in person to give us, or whom wee should send, possession, with liberty and authority to build a fort there and houses for our convenience and company that wee might bring or send, being alsoe resolved himselfe to build houses for him and his company. But the said Alladyn very prudently advised him not to goe or to bee too precipitant as yett, till hee should have confirmation from the Prince, least it should alarme Suratt to prevent it. Hee is goeing within 15 dayes to the Prince, and promises to procure us a firmand for the same. The letters of the said Diwan wee send enclosed.

The early dispatch of the *Chestnut*, in which they intended to lade 'the Companies coconutts', was foreshadowed; and it was stated that the surplus horses were being sold. The vessel did not start until the end of the month, when a long letter (dated 30 October) was sent by her. This stated that on the 23rd the first monthly payment out of the Company's funds was made to the soldiers.

On which day alsoe came Gerther [Girdhar] backe from Chaul (whether wee had sent him for information etc.) . . . well fraught with hopes of procuring severall of the weavours to come and settle themselves and familyes here; bringing with him severall musters of silke stuffes . . . as alsoe three small round parcells of cotton yarne.

All these were being sent to Surat in the *Chestnut*, the officers of which (Henry White, master, Thomas Johnson, mate, and Francis Morewood, boatswain) were commended for their zeal and assiduity in fitting out the vessel. Copy was enclosed of a proclamation forbidding the practice hitherto prevalent of the soldiers keeping 'lewd women'.

At Upper Chaul[1] Gerther was civilly treated by Sevagees servant, who (sitting there to receive $\frac{1}{10}$ part customes of what that Governor takes for the King) gave him encouragement for the procury of saltpeter and pepper at reasonable rates, and then

[1] The Portuguese were settled only in Revadanda or Lower Chaul, the upper town remaining in native possession.

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importun'd him to goe with him to his master Sevage, who was then at Ustamee,[1] a place some 12 miles off Chaul; but having not order, hee refused his proffers and soe left him, to returne to us. Yet, notwithstanding all his diligence and expence of five dayes time, hee could not procure any raw silke for a sample, either that of Persia or Ahmadavad, both being very scarce to them; wherefore if you please to enorder the buying of 20 or 25 maunds of Persia silke, of that sort called by the country people Truggagee, it will yeild $4\frac{1}{4}$ or $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per seare Suratt; and then, it is supposed, the weavours wilbee able to afford there stuffes in time yet cheaper. The taffaties now sent are of Ahmadavad silke, which is alsoe wanting; soe that the like quantity from Ahmadavad will bee requisite for a tryall. . . . The Governor of Upper Chaul sent us a letter, partly congratulatory, partly invitatory to settle a factory there or in any other place within his power, to trade freely to the advantadge of both partyes; adding assurances of doing all the kindnesses for us within the verge of his ability, and suchlike; when the broker was spoken to for some passes for severall small trading vessells in these partes; as alsoe severall merchants have since desired the like here, to whom wee were able to give noe other answer then to desire their patience till wee had acquainted you therewith, who, wee doe not doubt, will either give us leave to make them passes or send us some blankes for their occasions for the future. . . . Our freind Cojah Alladyn is fitting and preparing himselfe, in the best manner hee can, to goe to the Prince very sodeinly, and gives us greate assurance of his freindshipp in the Honnourable Companies behalfe, and putts us in good heart by speaking hopes to us of procuring the Princes firmand that Phaty and Cullian, for our sakes, shalbee free for all merchants to export and import what goods they please.

He was anxious to be furnished with 'rarityes' for presents, but none could be supplied at Bombay. He further urged that ships should come from Gombroon direct to Bombay, 'which hee reports would bee of greate honnour to our nation and give the Prince and country people in generall much content'. This they promised to represent to the President. They thought it would be a good plan to send the *Chestnut* to Gombroon to lade freight goods for Bombay. The opportunity might be taken to bring some red earth for repairing the inside and outside of the fort, which was much decayed. For the same purpose they would be glad of two carpenters and

[1] Ashtami, on the Kundalika river, opposite to Roha.

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bricklayers, those at Bombay being ' very ignorant and lazy '. They also needed some rose-water from Persia ' for entertainement of strangers ', and some Shirāz wine ' to encourag our water, by the badnesse whereof and the malignity of the aire wee have had diverse sicke, towards whose recovery wee have on all occasions furnishd them with wine, according to the doctors directions '. A private soldier, named Jeremy Crick, died on 26 October. Another soldier had been arrested for sleeping at his post, and John Gervase had been punished by court martial (for some offence unstated). ' Gerther ' would be sent shortly to Thāna, ' to make enquiry after stuffes and the weavours '. Two able men were needed for gunners. The Captain of Bassein, who seemed by his letters to be ' a very freindly gentleman ', had been granted permission to land some timber at Bombay. He was understood to be intending to send two partly built vessels to Bombay, to be finished there ; this would ' bring the more fame and artificers to the port '. Two horses had been sold to Alā-uddīn at his request. As desired by Oxenden, ' the passadge betweene this port and Penne ' would be sounded and an account sent to Surat. Since the Bāndra cloth was so near the dimensions required, efforts were being made to improve it. A man had already been sent thither to instruct the weavers to weave their cloth thicker and closer. Meanwhile purchases there would be continued. Gary had been informed that the diamonds handed over on his behalf by Anthony Smith at Surat proved short in weight ; his reply was that they were just as received from Cooke. He had also been told that the President was displeased with Goodier and Young for signing the discharge and accepting the list of remains, and especially for allowing Gary to describe himself as Governor. In their opinion such a description could not affect Gary's pay, ' noe more then a captain lieutenant, which by courtesy is called captain in all places, can thereby pretend to a captains or more pay then a lieutenants '. They had reason to believe that Gary never took more than 20*s.* a day, and he recovered half of the 40*s.* a day which Lucas had allowed himself (contrary to instructions). As to the list of remains, they regretted that Gary had assigned values to the various items, since this ' gives you soe much offence '. The rest of the letter answered other points in the Surat letter of 22 October (not extant), which announced, among other items of news, the death of the captain of the *Constantinople Merchant*.

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We turn now to the President and Council's letter to the Company of 2 November (mentioned in the preceding chapter), much of which was devoted to the subject of Bombay and its needs. Referring to the sale of the lead received from England, Oxenden and his colleagues said that, in order to stimulate the demand for that article,

we are about setting upp a red lead house att Bombay, there being a very great expence thereof through[ou]t the whole countrey of Decan. We have already contracted with the partie, who is knowne to us, and to spare him 2,000 maunds of lead to sett upp with, att the rate we sell to others. This person is both a powder and a peeter maker, and otherwise very ingenious and industrious; that we hope he will be a means to sett upp some other arts and professions for the encrease of trade and commerce there.

Later in the letter Oxenden explains why he did not go in person to take over the island, and then proceeds to develop plans for its improvement. It is evident that he took the liveliest interest in the new possession, the importance of which he was quick to note; and, but for his untimely death, he would doubtless have anticipated Aungier in carrying out some of the measures for which the latter has had the sole credit.

As to the Presidents not going to Bombay to take possession in person, the reasons are, vizt.; in the first place, we thought it most necessarye, for diverse reasons, to give them att Bombay as little tyme to consider of it as possible. Soe that Mr. Goodier, Captain Younge, Streinsham Master, and Thomas Cotes were appointed commissioners to take possession of the place; Mr. Goodier to command in chiefe, and Captain Younge and Mr. Cotes of Councell; ordering Mr. Masters returne to our assistance in this busy tyme, for we have onely Mr. Aungier and Mr. Gray left us of your old servants, with which we must doe all. The next clause is that which speaks of the Portuguez petition for mercye and redresse, being much oppressed, especially in the behalfe of poore orphans and widowes, which pretend to be deprived of their lands. This we conceive, from what we have heard of it formerly, proceeds from Sir Jervace Lucas forceably taking away some lands, houses, and coconutt gardens; which hath soe much encreased the rents of the island to what it first yeelded, and not the great services some doe boast of and is soe desirous to have the creditt off. This exaction (for, as it is represented, we can call it noe other) hath caused great clamours and bin a heartburninge in the Portugalls

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ever since it hath bin done; and we beleeve hath reacht Europe. Enquiring into the reasons that Sir Gervace proceeded soe severely with them, we were told that some refused to take the oath of alleagiance, and others could not make out a good title. Now it is not to be questioned but that the whole island was primarily the King of Portugalls; which since hath been granted by peece-meals to family's for services (such being that Kings manner of rewarding all captains and officers), that have enjoyed what hath bin soe allotted them successively, or perchance, through want or desiring to remove to some other place, sold it from one to another, which is alsoe allowable; and this is all the right, we beleeve, the best of them can shew. Soe that whether a donative thus given, and length of tyme, will entitle them to the inheritance, we may not presume to undertake, but leave the decision to your more juditious determinations, and shall humbly take leave to propound to you that, if it shall be adjudged, from this that we have said, that the inhabitants have any title, then will there onely remayne to you the soveraigntye of the island, of governinge, and receiving such customes and other dutyes as formerly the King of Portugall tooke; which takes off all improvement, for we shall not have place nor roome to deale out to the severall tradesmen of all kindes, as weavers, dyers, washers, carpenters, smithes, and severall other artificers (too many to name) that we hope to invite thither in a short tyme; which must have allotted to them ground for houses and outcourts to live with their familyes. And therefor, to accommodate things to the satisfaction of the Portugalls and your interest, knowing the tender you have to all upright and just dealings with all men, gives us the freedome to propose your buying of these pretenders out, which we beleeve may be done very reasonable, their condition considered; as there are alsoe others of these Roman Catholiques that would be willing to doe the like, that they may live under their owne government. And it were well if the island were free of them all, for they are a proud, lazie nation, and not att all industrious; that we doubt not but to have better commonwealthsmen in their roomes. Soe we leave the whole matter to your prudent consideration, entreating your particuler answere and order herein. You propose to putt the inhabitants uppon making callicoes; but they are (as we are informed) a sullen, lazie people. We are yet ignorant what kinde of being there is for weavers and other mechannicks; but the President intends, soe soone as his leisure will permitt him, to voyage downe and satisfie himselfe in this and other matters. And in case there be accommodation, he doth not question to procure all manner of

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artificers to inhabit there from other places. In the mean tyme we shall acquaint you with what we have true information of. There is a swampe and low ground, that the sea breaks in att, and att spring tides overflowes ⅓ parte of the island, making soe much wast ground, that is noe way usefull, but a great annoyance. The coming in is narrow, and in the judgement of sober men is easie to be kept out; 1000 or 1200*l.* sterling will, they say, doe it effectually, and the inhabitants affirme that in 3 yeares lying wast, onely casting upp the earth once a yeare, it will make good arable land as any uppon the island;[1] and should it not, the ground would be usefull many other wayes, for there is want of it. And in a very many materiall things besides we want order and freedome to act; and alwayes to waite for it, in things that will and doe dayly succeed one the other, is tedious to us. We are further informed by knowing men, Indians, who have bin uppon the place and have taken notice of the mould, which affirme that cardamons, pepper, and sugar canes will grow and thrive, and promise to plant and produce them; soe that what improvement would there be [may be?] lost before we can procure licence to be att this expence; which is soe grievous to us that if, when we come uppon the island, it shall appeare soe feizable as report speaks, we will consult what will most conduce to your future benefitt and the good of the island, and uppon good encouragement we shall enter uppon it; and if this be displeasing to you, it shall caution us in the future. You again presse the making this a seaport; to which we doe bend all our endeavours, as you will see in our orders already given to Mr. Goodier etc. that they encourage vessells to bring in all sorts of commodityes proper either for Europe, Bussorah, Mocha, Persia, etc. and to buy them, and we will take care to have them transported to the severall marketts, favouring such as frequent the port, and making good payment for what they buy; the which they are enabled to, by sending with them 10,000 rupees in cash, and a considerable summe, we heare, Capt. Garye will pay into them; besides, we can supply them uppon all occasions. We alsoe hope it will vend a good quantity of Europe commodityes, as lead, copper, tynn, broadcloth, etc., by the entercourse we shall make into Decan, and give a good opportunitye to renew our trade into that countrey again. We likewise observe the course you propound in hireing vessails to voyage between [Bombay and?] Persia and the Red Sea, and that we acquaint merchants

[1] This reclamation was not carried out until the administration of Governor Hornby (1771–84).

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thereof; which we shall doe, but very privately, for the reasons before given, of the jealousies this Kinge and his officers have taken, that spies are sett in every place to watch what is done, and presently advice is carried to the court etc. But we doubt not to be supplyed with all sorts of mechannicks from many other places, unknowne to them. In complyance to your commands of making this a flourishing port and mart of trade, we finde in your letter you leave us free, committing all to our care that may be to the good of the place; which minded us particulerly what you write of sending us some shipps to be imployed in the countrey from port to port; which hath bin seriously debated in Councell, and your President, having served you many yeares on the Maryne as Generall Purser, declared to us the many inconveniencies and hinderances he mett with, greatly to your prejudice, in the shipps that were sent to voyage in the countrey; saying they were alwayes out of repaire and aileing one thing or other, when they were to take in their fraights; instanceing that either they must be calkt first, or that they were leakie and their sheathing must be ript off, or their caske were leakie and wormeeaten, which they are very subject to in this countrey; and to make upp all, perchance the cooper dyes, and then they cannot goe to sea. One or other of these he was perpetually troubled with. Besides, our oaken plankes doth not agree soe well in this parching countrey, but shrinkes and wasts exceedingly. And therefor [he] motioned the building of a shipp or two in the countrey, giving these reasons: that here was as good tymber as the world afforded, and espetially near Bombay, to be had cheaper then in any other place; that the carpenters wrought their worke very cheape, substantiall, and strong, of planke let into each other, with cotton and tarr, and then spiked, which is called rivetting worke; this is, to our knowledge, very lasting, and admitts of noe caulking or other trimming then chynaming[1] once a yeare, which is done in one springe [tide], and this excuseth all caulking worke, ocum, pitch, and tarr, with the expence of a many carpenters and caulkers; then, instead of caske (which are ever out of repaire) we here use tanks, or great vessells made of good thicke planke, that reach from the lower decke to the bottom of the hold, placed amidshipps, that contayne 15, 20, or more butts apeece, according to the bignes of the vessell, that is built and placed on both sides; and lastly, it will be a conveniency and advantage to the island to have them built there, that imployment

[1] Smearing with a mixture of *chunam* (lime) and other ingredients; see a note on p. 248 of the 1642–5 volume.

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may be given for the encouragement of artificers and other labourers to inhabit there; and alsoe by this means what is expended in provisions, apparrell, and other necessaries which they will need, will bring money to the severall shopkeepers, and soe keepe it within ourselves, to the enrichinge the inhabitants and the encrease of trade. Further, Captain Warde, commander of the *Constantinople*, doth affirme that he saw a very convenient place where a wett and dry docke may be made att a small charge, and that all things sutes for the conveniencyes, the scituation of the place, the mould, and the riseing of the tides. Pray be pleased to examine him, [when] you will receive a further accompt; which if to your likeing, we pray your order or resolutions in it by your next. This hath diverted us from our intended subject of building, which we shall end this clause with. The reasons being discust touching the inconveniencie, the extraordinary charge and expence of tyme the English shipping putt us to, and the commodiousnes of the other, with the benefitt [that] would accrew to the island (whereon our eyes are generally fixed), wrought with the Councell to consent to the buildinge of two shipps on Bombay, the one to be of 300 tons and upwards, the other of 200 and upwards; all things being lesse then halfe the rate of what is accustomary, we mean as to carpenters, smiths, and labourers pay. Tymber Capt. Garye hath already provided some, and care is taken that the rest be bought att the best and cheapest rate. And if any shall object they may not have that shape, or be soe profitable for stowage of goods, as our English shipps are, we answere that these carpenters are growne soe expert and masters of their art that here are many Indian vessails that in shape exceed those that come, either out of England or Holland.

A request was made for a supply of guns and rigging for masts. 'Cables and running rigging we make here of the countrey stuffe farr cheaper and full as serviceable.' Topmasts and yards would be useful; also pitch and tar. Anchors were much wanted. Any of these things, if not required for the ships, would sell at a good profit; but they must all be both new and good.

Seamen; if you please to send out 10 or 15 in every shipp that comes forth after your receipt of these, will be suffitient; and for the future we hope to raise a nursery of them of our owne, six or seaven young men, seamen bred, that are artists, to make masters, and otherwise to take the charge of the watch; but we doe not desire you should send them out masters from thence, for then they are not soe orderly or observant. All these persons we desire

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may be entertained to serve in your garrison, as well by land as by sea; and we desire, if you thinke good, to oblige each person by writing, and to send their obligations with them, to be kept here. There they will subscribe to anythinge in reason, but here are more stubborne; but we shall in tyme worke them into better order. When you send out any more soldiers, by noe means send not out any officers, for that will breed ill bloud among them that are here uppon the place. Besides, their pay is high, and they will abate nothinge of what are the accustomary priviledges of garrison souldiers. Alsoe, such as you send out, let them be younge men, and they to engage to serve by land and sea. . . . [As to numbers] for the present we shall putt you to as little charge as can be contrived; but we entreat you to be mindefull of us, if any warrs should breake forth betwixt us, the French, or Dutch, for these give cause of suspition already in their discourses, and are nothing pleased that you have att last gott soe good footing in India. We have oft heard that Sir Gervace Lucas should say (who was an old experienced souldier) that the place would require 450 or 500 men to keepe it, and they ought to be able, experienced souldiers. As for the natives, there is noe trust to be putt in them, or will they ever be brought to face an enemye, soe very pusillanimous are they. . . . An able, experienced, skillfull engineer is exceedingly wanting; but then he must be a man that is excellent in experimentall knowledge. Materialls of stone, lyme, and labourers the island is plentifully furnished with. One good mason to give directions; others this place will afford. (Labourers have but three halfepence a day, and chiefe workemen eight pence and one shillinge, as masons, carpenters, etc. They are slow, but exact in their worke.) And it is a hainous thinge here to labour and take pains; [so] that we doe not thinke it convenient yet awhile to move anythinge of this nature to the souldiers; they are too high. But if you please to continue your resolutions of sending over civill English women, bred to housewifery, of mean parentage, provided they be of modest behaviour and carriage, 4 or 5 att a tyme, with a discreet matron to governe and take the charge of them, this, we beleeve, may humble the souldiers, when they shall have a wife and family to care and provide for, and, if any thinge, will putt them to be industrious for their maintenance and (as you say) take them off from that loose life they now follow. . . . Order is also taken for the regular collection of the revenues, which you are informed to be 34,000 zerapheens or pardaws, but it is now risen to upwards of 70,000, by the means we formerly acquainted you

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with of Sir Gervase Lucas confiscatinge soe much of the Portuguez estates, for which they clamour to this day. Besides, there are complaints of some exactions uppon the people, that hath raised the totall summe; and therefor if it shall not arrise to soe much for the first yeare or two, in regard it will be convenient that we doe some acts of favour for the encouragement of the merchants and inhabitants; in which we designe you noe losse att the long run, but that by the encrease of trade it will come in to you again with advantage.

We have already noted (p. 31) that in the same letter the President and Council suggested that warlike measures against Persia had at last been rendered possible by the acquisition of Bombay, which would serve as a base for the necessary naval force. In this connexion they said:

Our first and principall worke must be to fortifie [Bombay]; which by the first we desire you to license with all freedome and libertye, and we doe promise to doe things sober and advisedly. For this it is must be the loadstone that will bring merchants of quality thither; for there are many eminent persons that have declared themselves very desirous to live amongst us with their familyes, might they be secure; saying, except they were assured of that, they did not thinke it prudent to remove, since it will certainly disoblige that prince whose inhabitants they now are; soe that, if they should be outed of Bombay, there would be noe place of abode left them. Besides, the fortifying of this place will be the primary good uppon which all other the improvements and future hopes of a flourishing port doth subsist; nay, in this lyes all the hopes and assurance you have of a lasting trade in India. It is all that is wanting to the making us terrible to our enemyes and acceptable to our friends, and keepe those few we have more fast and firme to us; which is what you greatly want, for seing you have hitherto had noe place of retirement, or any appearance to countenance and owne them, hath bin the occasion soe many have deserted you and have bin carried away by the Dutch, with great reluctancye, for otherwise they abominate them, well knowing beforehand the slavery they shall be subjected to.

The arrival from Bombay, while the letter was being drafted, of the letter of 6 October (see p. 65), brought the President and Council back to the subject of the island. They forwarded to the

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Company copies of that document and its enclosures, and went on to complain of the exactions at Thāna by the Portuguese.

Timber is both plentifull and cheape in those places; but in respect it must passe a certain fort (both small and inconsiderable) belonging to the Portugalls, that lyeth soe unhappilye that nothing can come out of the Moores countrey but must passe that way, where all things are made to pay for, some goods 10 to 20, and all timber 33 per cent. or what they will aske; which is a great eyesore and hinderance to all trade, indeed wholly destructive to Bombay, and keeps out all merchants egresse and regresse, for those that come by sea must reshipp them again or suffer themselves to be thus exacted uppon by the Portugall. It is a royaltye belonging to the Governour of Basseen, who spightfully annoyes us. It would be exceeding profitable and greatly tend to the flourishing of the place, if you could procure a remedye, by a grant from the Kinge of Portugall; for the Vice Roy here hath already bin dealt with in this busines, but he will not heare of it. . . . The yearly rent which the Portugall receives by these extravagant dutyes are very inconsiderable; we thinke 2 or 3,000 zeraphins per annum. The next is a lycence to coyne moneys that may passe currant uppon the island, both silver, gold, and smaller coyne of copper and tynne for exchange; which we designe shall somewhat agree with the present vallue, but not to be the same. This mint will bring you in some revenue. The weights and measures wee likewise intend to alter, and that they agree with ours in Europe. If you please to continue the meddall and motto,[1] then order stamps to be cutt there and sent forth; elce, if you please, it can be done here. . . . We desire your order concerning the flagg which is worne uppon the island. We have for a short space continued our Kings Majesties colours; but, least we may offend, please to advise us in it.

A list was sent of the commodities required for sale at Bombay, consisting of broadcloth, lead, tin, copper, coral, &c.; to which was added a request for Canary wine and oil for the use of the factory, and a supply of beer and mum,[2] both for that purpose and for sale. The ships bringing out these goods might winter at Bombay and then go down the coast to the various factories to collect return cargoes. This would 'be a countenance to your factours for the

[1] I take this to mean that if the Company decided that the new money should bear its arms and the motto *non minor*, &c., as on the Oxenden medal lately received (see p. 20), the necessary dies should be provided.

[2] See a note on p. 385 of the 1661–4 volume.

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encouragement of the natives amongst whom they dwell'. The fleet should also bring out some surplus master's mates and seamen, engaged to serve in any ship to which they might be appointed or on shore, if required.

There is a fort uppon the island of Carinjah that annoyes us like that of Tannah, whereof [we] advised you in a foregoing clause, and girts us in on every side from the maine; wherefor we entreat the like remedye may be applyed for the redresse of this alsoe. Here is one Joseph Hinmers, that hath lived neare two yeares uppon the island in good imployments, amongst which he was Customer and Receiver att Mahim. We beleeve him knowne to many of you, and perchance [he may] be somewhat abnoxious in respect of his last imployment as chiefe factour uppon the interloping shipp *Love*, . . . in which act they that imployed him were more in fault then he; therefor we beleeve your wisdomes will passe it by, and make those advantages and uses his knowledge and experience can impart, which is to give you a very perfect and true accompt of the island, the manners and customes of the people, and many other matters very necessarye your knowledge, and will alsoe prove greatly to your satisfaction. The man is very able, and exceeding desirous to be recommended for future imployment in your service; but we dare not be soe presumptuous, in regard his former imployment was very offensive. He can likewise informe you concerning these two forts that are soe great annoyance to the island. He speakes and writes Portuguez with great perfection; and was propounding to us an expedient by going over to Lisboa and solliciting the King of Portugall, for it is a royaltye or (as they call it) a merce,[1] given for service done him; soe that he onely can remitt it. You may please to talke further with him about it. We have permitted him and one John Evans to take their passage on the shipp, for which they are to satisfie the owners. We had like to have committed a great neglect by not acquainting you with the great want there is of wood uppon the island; there growing not one sticke for use, but all is brought from the maine, that makes it very deare. And coales scarce alsoe; [so] that the fireing that is used in workeing amounts to much more then the smiths labour. To prevent which and be supplyed, please to cause all your ballast of the shipps you send forth to be sea coale; removing their palletine,[2] which we can lay again, if we see cause, or

[1] Port. *mercê*, a favour or reward.

[2] Palleting, the bottom platform in a ship.

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dennidge [1] the higher, if there be occasion. Of this pray fayle us not. . . . If you please to send us an able powdermaker, that hath ingenuitye enough to contrive a powdermill, or that you send one out to be sett upp uppon the island, it will, we perswade ourselves, turne well to accompt; for, notwithstanding all the materialls which goe to the making of it are soe very cheape here, yet powder is seldome under 9 rupees the maund ordnance powder, and that very bad and will (if not new and very well dryed) flye out of the guns in clodds, without giving any report; which proceeds from the knavery of the powdermen in sophisticating it, and likewise that they know not the right composition, for in a years keeping it moulders to dirt and must be remade, or tis of noe use. Finer powder for game is sold att neare double the price. Whereuppon we conclude this will be a profitable busines to you; for we intend to make powder a prohibited commoditye, to be bought or sold for noe other accompt but yours, laying a fine and penaltye on whomsoever shall be found to have any but what is bought out of your warehouses. Therefor lett the powdermaker you send be your hired servant under articles (which pray send us). If he hath a familye, wife and children, here will be place enough to inhabit in. Great quantities of this commoditye will (when it is found to be soe much better then that made here) sell round about us, and with which we shall oblige many; besides the conveniency of being uppon all occasions well stored ourselves for the supply of the island and shipping. Other labourers to assist the powdermaker are here to be had very cheape; [so] that none need to be sent out for that use. Bimgee Parracke [2] recommended as usefull and serviceable to the Company, ascertaining their rights and other priveledges and immunitye, whereby he hath procured to himselfe many enemies, that were it not for our protection there are those that would spightfully use him. Besides, the persecution of the Banians for the conversion of them to the Mahometan religion is soe cruell and grievous to them that they are in perpetuall feare and would run, if they knew where. These feares have putt this

[1] To secure with dunnage, i. e. lighter or less valuable material stowed among and beneath the cargo to save it from injury.

[2] Bhīmji Pārak was the Company's broker at Surat. Possibly he and his brother, Kalyān Pārak, were sons of Tulsi Dās Pārak, who had previously been employed in a like capacity. It is worth recording that a Surat letter to the Company of 9 January, 1671 reported an offer from Bhīmji to defray the wages of a printer to be sent to Bombay to put 'some of the ancient Braminy writings in print', and one was sent out accordingly three years later. In July 1683, the Company resolved to present to Bhīmji a medal and chain of gold, to the value of 150*l.*, in recognition of his services.

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your servant Bhimgee Parracke to make it his humble petition and sute that you would be pleased to bestow on him soe much ground uppon Bombay as may be suffitient to build him houses and for outhouses for him and his familye (for they are somewhat numerous) to retire to, that he and his may live under your shadow and protection for ever. The chyrurgion you sent for Bombay makes it his humble request that you would permitt his wife to take her passage in the next shipps that come forth. . . . The aire or water, or both, doe not very well agree with the souldiers. The generall disease of the island is the flux and loosenes, which causeth a great expence of physicke; but the chyrurgion hath sent a list for sutable medicines, which please to lett them not fayle of by the next shippinge. . . . Here is a very credible report that the Dutch have taken Maccasser and brought that King to their owne slavish conditions. . . . Here is another report that there is warr proclaymed between the Dutch and Portugalls,[1] and there are already arrived 6 Dutch shipps before the barr of Goa and 20 more expected; which if true, they designe something more then blocking upp of Goa and that they have intentions uppon the land; which putts [us] into some thoughts whether they doe not ayme att our soe very neare neighbouring island[s] of Salsett and Carranjah; which if soe, your plantation of Bombay will be utterly ruind and destroyed, for those beasts of prey have not hitherto suffered any to live by them. The French alsoe declare they are useing their interest in Lisbone to procure from the King of Portugall some place of settlement here in India, and their eyes are said to be uppon one of these two places. Now we entreat you to take notice that these three islands of Bombay, Salsett, and Carranjah are as soe many limbs or parts to the compleatinge a body; wherefor we most heartilye wish the other two were yours, and then you would be entire within yourselves, where noebody can crowd in to wrong you. Besides other conveniencies, those two islands will, over and above their charges, bring you in some thousands [of] pounds now presently, besides the improvement, which will be very great. Wherefor, all things considered, we entreat you somebody may be appointed to observe the Frenches motion att Lisboa, and alsoe to sollicite, if there be any means, for the obtayninge the royaltie of these two places, that lye soe commodious to you; although you should contract to pay the King of Portugall yearly a certain tribute in Europe, more then double what he now receives.

We had almost forgott a very necessary artificer, an armourer

[1] The rumour was unfounded.

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or gunsmyth, much wanting on the island and for other occasions. We desire two may be sent forth, for here will be imployment for them both; onely we pray they may be very able, sober men.

It is now time to return to the correspondence between Bombay and Surat. By the *Charles*, which touched at the former port on her way to the latter, Goodier and Young were enabled to send a letter, dated 12 November, which contains several passages of interest.

Wee have newly received a letter from Sevagees servant (mentioned in our last), wherein hee offers much of civility and kindnesse to us from his master; but whether it bee freindshipp and reality, or designe and counterfeit, wee judge not at present; onely resolve to watch his waters. Lately alsoe wee received a civill and kind letter from the Governor of Cullian, wherein the promises are soe greate that wee shall thinke ourselves well paid with the performance of the moity; yet some semblance of reality wee may the rather promise to ourselves for that lately hee hath remitted and return'd to us 90 rupees of the customes hee tooke for the timber sold to Capt. Gary, whom wee find very shy, but have mett with some papers of concerne in Portugeze, that wee want one skild in that language to translate into English; which please to consider. According to your order, wee have caused the channell betweene this port and Penne to bee sounded. A copy of the sounding, performed by Lieut. Burges, etc., wee here enclose. This morning Herge Moody is come from Cullian, and brings us noe very pleasing relation of affaires there. At the foote of the accompt, rightly cast upp, wee find it amounts to nothing but wind and aire, which the credulity of Capt. Gary, ascribing soe much to Alladyns performances and possessing us with hopes of such greate matters from the Governor of Cullian, induced us to beleive better of; but in fine wee find that there is noe true ground of expecting any trade or commerce with these lazy and faithlesse people. The Governor himselfe seemes hearty to us; but the Diwan, Cariem Beaque, is nothing but surface and deceit, and changes colour severall times in a day, denying and thwarting one houre the promises of the former, insoemuch that his messenger, that hee sent hither with promises of a free port, expostulating with him thereupon (who denied those promises, because not under his hand), finding himselfe abused by his falsenesse, call'd him knave behind his backe. There seemes to have bin a pique betweene the Governor of Cullian and Cariembeque; soe that what one builds the other pulls downe, and wee are now denyed any abate-

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ment of customes for goods or provisions, otherwise then as it is at Suratt; which yet alsoe they assure us not, onely put us in faint hopes of some favour, which if wee will obtaine, wee must buy it by presents. And this may seeme the lesse wonder, because that some of us have had former experience of the falsenesse of the Decannese merchants.

Great regret was expressed for the death of Randolph Taylor, communicated by Capt. Smith. The latter was understood to be willing to stay in India, and, since he seemed to be experienced in building and fortification, it was suggested that he should be encouraged to do so.

Hee tells us of a rencontre hee had at Rajapore with two of Sevagees vessells, the full relation of which wee leave to his owne mouth. Wee find the Mallabarrs of late very daring here, even in ken and prospect of our port; soe that they have taken severall boats of Bandora. Which provoked some here soe much that they would faine have gone out in some of our boats to attempt them, as counting it a dishonnour and fowle disgrace to see them taking boats under our noses; yet for want of order wee could not empower them.

Some copper had been sold, but beams, weights, and scales for such purposes were much wanted; also paper, quills, wax, and a seal. Alā-uddīn, when departing for the Prince's court, begged from Goodier his pair of pistols and holsters; a set in replacement should be forwarded. Several of the best of the horses had been lent to persons who would undertake their maintenance; others were 'such jades' that no one would buy or even keep them. If it were thought desirable to maintain a supply of horses on the island, arrangements should be made to furnish them from Persia or elsewhere. John Woollen, a debauched soldier who had refused to enter the Company's service, was sent in the ship. Further samples of stuffs from Thāna were forwarded.

Six days later a further letter answered one from Surat of 7 November (not extant). It said that the two carpenters and two bricklayers sent by the President were busily engaged in repairing the Company's house, which was 'running to ruine'. Lime and 'broad square stones' were much needed for that purpose; the former could be procured on the island, but the latter must be obtained near Bāndra. Permission had been granted for these to be hewn;

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and, since a supply of from 1,500 to 2,000 was also wanted for Surat, arrangements would be made to put the work in hand.

Although wee cannot expect to have the square stones cutt for us soe soone as for Padre Ambrosio,[1] in regard they are to come from a place under the eye and influence of our implacable enemies the Padres of Bandora (whose complaints against the late government are not small, and Your Honour will judge whether just); yet the gentleman that owns the aldea from whence they are to bee cutt seemes by his courteous letter to bee owner of much civility, promising his readynesse to furnish us to the extent of our occasions. Therefore wee hope to doe more hereafter then wee dare at present promise.

For providing the lime, they proposed to set up a number of kilns. A surgeon was needed in place of Bird, who was going home, and it was understood that Randolph, the surgeon of the *Rebecca*, was willing to remain in India and might be induced to accept the post. Thomas Farley, the surgeon's mate at Bombay, had not behaved as he ought, and might be exchanged for Randolph. 'Wee have just now received newes of the death of the Vice Roy of Goa; and three Governors officiate in his place—Don Emanuell Mascarenhas, Antonio de Mello de Castro, Emanuell Cortereall de Samp[aio].'[2]

On 25 November the Bombay factors wrote again, in reply to two letters received from Surat. After dealing with several minor matters and thanking the President for the promise of a supply of 'Truggâge or Gellannie[3] silke', they said:

According to your command, wee shall at convenient time enorder such as wee employ to treate Sevagees servants civilly, wherever they meete them, but not to enter into any contract with them, letting them know the greate damage the Honourable Company hath suffered and the abuses offered to our people on severall occasions, for which wee expect satisfaction and reparation before wee enter into any league with their master; all which

[1] Presumably the Capuchin monastery and chapel at Surat had been built with stone obtained from this spot.

[2] The same three names are given in a letter from Consul Lannoy at Aleppo, dated 17 April, 1669 (P.R.O.: *S.P.F., Turkey*, vol. xix. f. 11), but his information was probably derived ultimately from the Bombay factors. Those at Kārwār (see p. 113) gave the name of Luiz de Miranda Henriques in place of that of Mascarenhas, and this is supported by Danvers' *Portuguese in India* (vol. ii. p. 364). That work gives the date of the death of the Conde de S. Vicente as 6 November, 1668 (N.S.).

[3] Ghilāni?

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wee suppose will come to his eares by one or more of his servants, though . . . wee are not of the opinion that ever hee wilbee brought to a peaceable treaty till hee bee forced to it (yett wee wish otherwise).

Pleasure was expressed at the prospect of Oxenden's speedy arrival, as many questions of importance were awaiting his decision. No notice had been taken at Surat of their application for blank passes or power to issue some; and as a result a merchant was sending a vessel from Bombay to the Persian Gulf without any pass save an old one issued by Gary. This example may lead to inconvenient consequences. The factors noted with pleasure that the *Chestnut* was to come from Gombroon straight to Bombay. The Governor, &c., at Kalyān had been asked to send letters of credit and recommendation addressed to their correspondents in Persia, but had not yet replied. The Company's house

is soe long gone to decay that as one part is building upp another falls downe. Wittnesse the eminent danger wee last Sunday night were in by the fall of part of the tarras into the powder roome, when the pewon Lolla had allmost accompanyed the flatt greate stone that fell under him, with a candle lighted in his hand, but by Gods providence hee recovered himselfe out of the greate hole; otherwise at that instant wee had all perished. . . . And since it hath pleased the Almighty to give us this warning, wee shall consider of a more convenient place to keepe the gunpowder in at present, to prevent the like danger for the future . . . for since the tarrases are ceiled with flatt stones, it is very dangerous to tread on or to bee under them.

In obedience to Oxenden's instructions, the officers were summoned to a court martial for the trial of a soldier; but Capt. Toldervy refused to act, on the plea that he had no commission since the transfer of the island. A council of the officers was therefore held, at which it was decided that the accused, being very ill, should be liberated on his parole.

At which time wee came to understand the reason why the articles of warre (which ought accustomarily to bee read on every muster day) were not read since the resignement of this island unto the Honourable Company was because the officers have not received their commissions. Their former being out of date, they argued with us that it was impropper the articles of warr should bee read

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untill they were empowered in their commands; which occasions private murmurings, which wee wish for many reasons were prevented; for were not the souldiers respects to us more then by outward appearance our power is, wee should find but little obedience from or decorum among them, and consequently have a hard taske to governe unsatisfyed persons; which ought to bee well weighed and seriously considered in time.'

Details were given of stores needed by the armourer. The carpenters and bricklayers from Surat were found to be of little use, and it was hoped that Oxenden would bring some better ones. Materials for fortifying were much wanted; also some persons skilled in making limekilns. A postscript reported the death of Sergeant Spiccott.[1]

Four days later a copy of this letter was dispatched to Surat, with an addendum stating that the stones ordered for that place were ready and were only waiting for an opportunity for their transport.

The next letter from Bombay was dated 8 December. It reported that 'Hirgee Moody' had been sent to procure from the Dīwān at Kalyān letters urging merchants to come to these parts, but 'the Moody' had returned unsuccessful. Karīm Beg

hath lately farmed out the customes for 31,000 rupees per annum to one Sheafe Fossell [Sharaf Fazl?], whose letters to us promise much civility and abatement of customes of any goods wee shall either export or import; but finding them generally soe unconstant and false in their performances, wee cannot but expect and provide for the worst; yett hope that Cojah Alladyn will procure the Princes letter in our favour, without which wee cannot imagine (for all their faire promises) to have any abatement of customes more then other merchants. The muster of raw silke which wee formerly could not procure is this day brought from Chaul, and by this bearer sent for your perusall, being the sort that is most in request and called here Trugagee . . . and will yeild here about 2¾ or 3 rupees per seare at 14 pice weight the seare. The weavours informe us much deceit is used in mixing of other with this sort; which wee thought good to hint to you to give order to those that buy this comodity to have the more inspection therein. As wee have used frugality in the stable by disposing of all the horses save two (not without hopes to bee furnished with others that may bee serviceable, as these are not), soe wee have

[1] Elsewhere called Thomas Speckett. He had come out in the *Charles* (see p. 52).

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essayed all possible meanes in other things to lessen the Companies charge, particularly in the pay of the Portugall souldiers, which is brought from 12⅛ to 10⅔xs. neerest per man monethly; which with much difficulty and trouble was at last obtained, though with many censures and much grumbling. . . . The reason why wee pressed this was because the souldiers shipp'd by the Honnourable Company had noe more.

A request was preferred for the article of the Marriage Treaty which related to the cession of Bombay. If not available at Surat, the Company should be asked to send out a copy.

For want of light herein, wee cannot tell what was delivered upp, whether part or whole, and consequently are ignorant of what was received and what further (without breach of peace) may bee demanded upon occasion; for wee are of oppinion more then Bombay was in the contract, as probably Salsett; wherein wee are not singular, being hereunto induced partly by reason of their refusing at first to deliver up Mahim, when they disputed not Bombaim.

Gary had at last been induced to pay in the money in dispute between Aungier and himself, and had also handed over the sum due to Ensign Price for pay.

On 19 December Goodier and Young entrusted a further letter to the care of a Parsi who was proceeding to Surat. In this they said that the bearer and another man had been employed by them at Kalyān and Bhiwandi to provide cotton goods.

Wee were informed that at Buinde they can make 2½ or 3 corge in a day and at Cullian but 1½ or 2 corge. The latter place, though but 3 miles distance, is reported to make better and cheaper cloth. Cotton yarne likewise may bee procured, both good and at reasonable price, about some 20 or 30 miles distance from Cullian, if wee had but 2 or 3 honest skilfull men in weaving of cloth to goe upp and downe to instruct these weavours and to buy cotton yarne. The bearer, Nonna Parsi, wee recommend to your approbation, supposing him a sufficient man for one for this employment; who wilbee better able to informe you of the want of severall necessaries belonging to the loomes then wee can, to whom please to bee refferred; and with your assistance and leave wee will seeke at Nunsaree for two other Parsi weavours to serve the Company at standing wages in these parts. . . . Ten or 12 cushions, with some

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large chickes [1] for doores, wilbee wanting when Your Honour comes hither.

The year's letters come to an end with one of 26 December, sent by the *Bantam*, which had just arrived. This merely asked for a supply of swords for the soldiers, and wished the President and Council ' a good new yeare '.

Of Oxenden's visit to Bombay something has been said in the previous chapter (p. 36). Accompanied by Streynsham Master and Gray, he arrived on 5 January, 1669, but did not land until two days later. The party left again on the 28th. Concerning the events of Oxenden's stay on the island our information comes almost entirely from a letter which he and his colleagues addressed to the Company on 15 January. As we have seen, Goodier returned to England by the ships that carried this letter ; and his place was taken by Young, with James Adams as his assistant.

The letter states that Oxenden, on landing, was met by the principal officials, with the soldiers ' drawne up in a military posture ', and was congratulated by the inhabitants ' with much seeming content '. One of the earliest questions to engage his attention was that of the defence of Bombay ; and Capt. Whitehorn, of the *Return*, was commissioned, with others, to make a survey of the island for that purpose. Their report was sent home, with a recommendation that its proposals should be sanctioned.

Which will further give encouragement to merchants of qualitie and estates to come and live amongst us ; for hitherto here are none but what are wretched, poore, and necessitous, and the moneyed men declare a great willingness to live under your government and jurisdictions, but are very doubtfull wee are not sufficiently defensive against any potent enemy that might come against us. . . . .The commissioners surveighers are now returned to us and [have] given in their report and opinions in writing under severall heads, naming the particuler places most necessary to be timely cared for, by erecting blockhowses and raising other fortifications for the defence and prevention of any enemy that should attempt to land, where the present nakedness and the conveniency may give occation of attempts ; as also what is to be done in this present place of the fort and garrison that may make it defensive for a place of retreat, in case wee should be worsted and not able

[1] Bamboo blinds (Hind. *chik*).

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to keepe the feild against the enemy, and is intended to be the first worke wee are to goe in hand with. Wherefore wee humbly pray that these things may be considered in the court and the paper read for your further satisfactions; that so your command and orders to us may be agreable. Capt. Whithorne hath been a principall instrument and hath taken much paines in circulating the island; that if you please to take the accompt from him, wee doubt not but hee will readily and ably deliver it, for wee have found him very cordiall in all your concernes. Capt. Samuell Smith, late commander of your *Little Charles*, is taken ashore and now appointed Chiefe Engineer of your island and Master Comptrouler of the Ordnance, hee being very aptly qualified in his ability and practicall experience, and likewise hath the approbation of all that pretend to understand anything of fortifications or gunnery, and that hee hath been put upon eminent employment in both qualifications, being likewise well versed in all manner of fireworkes and in playing the granadoes, if occation shall require; that, as to these things, wee esteeme ourselves well provided in him, and for his encouragement have promised to encrease his sallary when hee shall finish any one worke that shall express his ingenuitie; in which wee likewise desire your approbation.

Two-thirds of the amount already due to Smith should be paid in England to his wife. Anthony Beale and Henry Hamblin, chief carpenter and chief gunner respectively of the *Return*, desired to be allowed to bring out their families and settle in Bombay. Both would be welcome, for they were able and well-behaved men.

Now that your President is come upon the p[lace he]e findes a want even of all, and that it affords nothing, but must be supplied with all whatsoever from abroad. Nor is here any trade or commerce, except for a little rice and coconutts, together with a little fish that the harbour produces. [This] is what these people have subsisted on; for, as wee have already tould you, all the inhabitants are the very poorest of people that ever wee beheld in all these northerne parts. What trade wee shall have to the maine is yet uncertaine; nothing hitherto presenting, although, for the encouragement of merchants, your President hath brought with him all sortments of Europe commodities, as broadcloth, cloth rashes, perpetuanaes, brimstone, etc.; and the *Constantinople*, at her being here, left a percell of copper, which still remaynes unenquired after, except a very small percell that the coppersmiths have bought; and wee feare as slow a vent of what is now come.

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The Committees were once more urged to procure from the King of Portugal liberty to pass the custom-house at Thāna without payment, and Hinmers was again recommended as a suitable instrument for the purpose. Two of the four brass guns so long on hand at Surat had been sold; the other two had been brought to Bombay, where they would be 'both of use and terrour, if there should be occation'. John Bird, assistant surgeon, was going home in the *Rebecca*; his services had proved useful, for the soldiers had to be stationed as far as six or seven miles away from the fort.

Besides, the place is sickly, and doth not so [well ag]ree with our Europians yet as wee hope it may hereafter; for [the inh]abitants report it to be a wholesome ayre, and for what wee [can] yet discerne it is so, to those that will live a temperate and orderly [li]fe.

Bird was going home to receive a legacy, but had left his wife and family at Bombay, and hoped to be sent back in the same employment by the next fleet. The Company had sanctioned the return of any soldiers desirous of quitting the island, but had not instructed the ship captains to leave other men in their places, as it is believed must have been intended (and should be arranged in future).

Wee finde them unwilling to part with their men, even upon exchange; that if so be many had petitioned to goe home, wee had parted with the best part of the English souldiery and so left your garrison naked and the throats of the small partie remayning exposed to be cut by the blacks; of which there is no small feare, in regard the number of those wee are forced to entertaine (against wee have better men) are more then double the English; that wee know not how soone they may be exasperated by the other padres and inhabitants of the island, whose strange clamours and cryes are numerous as greivous, that twould be very necessary that wee set downe what hath been represented to us, both at Surat and since wee came hither, with incessant cryes and teares, of which your President hath not been free since the first hee tooke the government upon him. By the *Constantinople Merchant* wee sent you what your President had received to that tyme; and since there was sent to Surat a padre of the Company of Jesuits, and another gentleman of quality, to present a petition in behalfe of themselves, widdowes, orphants, and other the inhabitants of the island, declaring the strange violence and unreasonable force done them by the late Governour, Sir Gervase Lucas, and by his

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successour, Capt. Gary, contrary to all law and reason and the articles of surrender agreed on between the two Kings of Great Britaine and Portugall; which they urge very pationately, requiring an answere to their petition. Your President, being ignorant how things had passed, drew a few lines, wherein hee declared his ignorance and innocency, referring to this your port of Bombay, where hee supposed the register of all things lay, which hee desired to be informed of, and then hee would endeavour to give them further satisfaction. This was translated into Latine and given to the Jesuit Padre; with which for that tyme hee departed. And now arriving to the island, presents himselfe with an infinite number of people, that had fled the island upon the taking away of their possessions, as coconutt gardens and other rents and revennues belonging to them; also widdowes, grave ladyes of quality, and other orphans and children, whose uncessant teares and cryes are able to rent the very bowells of compassion, having all taken from them and not a little rice left them to sustaine nature. These and others flock dayly and hourely with petition upon petition; that, should wee send you all that hath been given [ ] they would amount to a fardle; insomuch that wee cannot tu[rn in any direction?] from morning to night but wee finde in everie place [ ] and cry out for mercy and releife. Wee confess wee [? could not think it possi]ble that such cruell extortion could be used, but th[ ] just c[aus]e then wee can finde, either by register or other [ ] Capt. Gary, w[ho] now seemes to disallow of Sir Gervases actions, though it is a[vou]ched by all that hee, Mr. Hynmers, and Mr. Ball were the greatest instig[ators an]d fomenters in all that was done. Your President at his first coming on shore, the better to arme himselfe against those numbers of complainants which hee was advised of, desired Capt. Gary to produce the register, that wee might see upon what grounds these seizures were made. Hee produces an originall paper from under Mr. Hynmers and Mr. Balls hand.[1] . . . And this is all that is left in the register or that Capt. Gary can witness; for which Sir Gervas Lucas hath made all these seizures. And now Mr. Gary saith plainly nothing was done in justice, but policy; for there is not one paper of processe or publike protest, or that can shew any hostility acted by the other partie, or that ever anything of that kinde was attempted, but done to supply Sir Gervases wants of pay for his souldiery. Wherefore wee offer

[1] A summary follows of the disputes with the Portuguese at Bāndra in April, 1667 (see the previous volume, p. 301).

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all to your wisdomes, knowing the good inclinations you alwayes have to conserve everie mans rights and privilledges unviolated; and such are the great hopes and expectations of all your [ ] petitioners. Your President hath had much trouble, and [? found it ha]rd to suppress their fury, saying they were injured persons [ ] famine, and therefore it could not be expected that they should [ ] thus. But at last, moderating with the Padres, and they with the [ ] heads of the people, wee hardly prevailed. Wee came to this result [i. e. resolution] [that th]ey should draw a generall petition in the names of them all, and bring it your President to send to you, and that they would yet wait (if they did not starve in the interim) for a favourable answere from you, hopeing in your justice to receive an order that every one may have their owne restored to them againe. They have procured out of England and brought us a part or branch of your charter verbatim under Sir Richard Brownes hand, the Clerke of the Councell, with the privie seale; wherein, after the provission made for the enjoying the libertie of their Romane religion according to the 11 article of peace, it goes on thus: 'and further also that the said inhabitants and the other subjects in the said port or island shall and may peaceably and quietly have, hold, possess, and enjoy all their severall and respective properties, privilledges, and advantages whatsoever which they or any of them lawfully had and enjoyed, or ought to have and enjoy, at the time of surrender of said port and island to us as aforesaid or at any time since, anything in these presents conteined to the contrary notwithstanding.' This, they say, was knowingly put in as provissionall, in regard of the usurpation entered on by Sir Gervase Lucas; wherefore this clause was incerted to cut off all those pretences, and that you were to receive no more then what was delivered at first to Mr. Humphry Cooke at the surrender and his possessing the island in His Majesties name; which hath caused them to stickle much upon it. The petition of the Padres, the better sort of inhabitants, the widdowes, orphants, and poore is here enclosed, amongst the Bombay papers; which is all wee shall trouble you with. The other bundles of petitions wee have laid by, they being all of one import. Wee hope and pray your answere may come in favour of them, for to us it appeares a mere force, without anything of legall proceeding. But in case it should be otherwise found and understood, whereby the petitioners may have forfeited their right, it is our dutyes to advise that you strengthen this place by sending over 2 or 300 souldiers, with all

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manner of ammunition and armes, great gunns, shott, carriages etc. necessaries proper to them; for tis feared the dispaire of such a multitude may transport them into fury and blood, a thing that hath not been a little feared amongst us at present. They challenge us to answere them in a process at law by what right or justice wee have deprived them of their livings, or whether any person, one or more, was ever found rebellious or opposed the government that was established, or that it hath been found or can be made appeare that any one or more hath ever been found in armes from the rendition of the island to this present; none of which by examination having been, whereby wee may fix either rebellion or mutiny upon them, makes us wave their proposall, and not to enter into the list, least wee be worsted.

Gary had handed over a sum of money as the proceeds of the estate of the late Capt. John Stevens, and it was suggested that the Company should pay the equivalent to his widow. Particulars were also sent of the estate of the late Capt. Hardy (half brother to Sir Gervase Lucas), the ownership of which was in dispute and should be settled by legal advice.

In our last by the *Constantinople* wee sent you the copie of the discharge given by Mr. Goodier and Capt. Young, acquainting you that the President demurrd to it, in that there were severall particulars that ought not to be entered, as moneys, and that wee had acquainted our freinds and Capt. Gary therewith; upon which they were promised it should be altered, and therefore the discharge was left behinde. But since wee are further informed that, notwithstanding Capt. Garyes pretences, hee hath played us another of his pranks and sent the originall home by the *Constantinople Merchant*, in a large pacquet by a private hand, directed to My Lord Arlington. So that wee thought it necessary to acquaint you so soone as wee could, to prevent any misunderstanding. The said Capt. Gary hath in nothing been so civill as wee expected, but is very close and will produce no registers or how matters have been transacted; which doth not only give us extraordinary trouble but will aske us some tyme to be informed of all things anew. Wee had thoughts your extraordinary bounty and favour lately shewed would have wrought better things in him, but to this instant hee hath refused your service, although, were it not for our outward respect to him and protection of his person, hee would be torne limbe from limb, such abusive falsities hath been acted by him, as well towards the officers and souldiers as the whole inhabi-

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tants of the island, that dayly clamour against him and petition for redress, and to have restored them all what hee hath forced, insomuch that, should any order come out to examine him in the particulers, tis beleived twill amount to a considerable summ. But for our parts, as wee are not appointed, so wee doe not desire the trouble of it; but shall contynnue our respects to him as wee have done hitherto.

Two soldiers, Peter Faber and Bartholomew Cox, were going home in the *Return*. They had paid money into the treasury and had been given bills on the Company for the equivalents at 5*s*. 6*d*. the dollar. As Goodier was also proceeding to England, Young had taken his place as Deputy Governor.[1] Several patterns of stuffs procurable round Bombay were sent home for examination; also lists of military stores needed for the island. A postscript added:

Wee send you by Capt. Whithorne a large draught of this island, which is drawne by Capt. Smith, who hath surveighd the island both by land and sea; and wee looke upon it to be the exactest of any hitherto sent you.

This letter reached the hands of the Company on 16 August, 1669. The map referred to is unfortunately not extant. By the same conveyance Gary wrote to Lord Arlington, under date of 15 January, 1669 (P. R. O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 124). He forwarded a copy of his previous letter, and explained that the discharge therein stated to be enclosed was not actually sent, owing to a mischance. Gary had forwarded it to Anthony Smith, asking him to request Oxenden and his Council to append their signatures, after which Smith was to add it to the other papers in the packet. Oxenden, however, refused to sign; whereupon Smith sent the document back to Gary. A copy the latter now forwarded, keeping the original for his own use, if necessary. He had supplied Povey with a corrected account of receipts and disbursements, in supersession of the one which accompanied his letter of 10 October. He begged Lord Arlington's acceptance of a small agate box containing three cornelian rings.

On the same date Gary sent a short note to Williamson (*ibid.*, f. 128[2]), saying that he was so unwell that he must refer him to

[1] See *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2 (p. 51), which gives an extract from a consultation held on 18 January, and another from Young's commission, dated the following day. In the latter Oxenden appoints Young to be 'my Deputy Governour', and also 'captaine of my foote companye'. [2] Modern copy in *Home Miscellaneous* (I.O.), vol. 49, p. 35.

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Povey, who had instructions to present Williamson on Gary's behalf with a white satin waistcoat.

To the period of Oxenden's stay at Bombay should probably be assigned the drawing up of the 'laws and ordinances of warr for the better governing the militia, 1668[–9]', entered at p. 90 of *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105.[1] It is a lengthy document, comprising over a hundred paragraphs, grouped under 'our duties to God', 'our duties to His Majesty', 'our duties in generall', 'our duties to superiours', 'morall duties', 'souldiers duties toutching their armes', 'duties in marching', 'duties in garrison', 'duties of officers', 'duties of the muster master', and 'administration of justice'. These rules were to be read to the troops on every muster day.

In conclusion we may notice two extracts. The first is from the proceedings of a Council of War held on 25 January.

> It was propounded by the President to consider what fortifications were necessary for the defence and security of this place and for the present retreat of the inhabitants of this island. In debate whereof it was concluded that, in regard of the present exigent of any immenent danger that might bee towards, it would be necessary forthwith to make some additions to the present fortress, which might be done with less expence of money and time then to erect a new entire fortification from the ground. Whereupon a scheme or modell in paper was presented to view by Captaine Samuel Smith, Engineer, which was by all unanimously approved of to be the present additionall fortification, to be begun accordingly out of hand. It was also represented by severall of the officers that the soldiers lately arrived from England, as also the white Portugalls, being lessened in pay to what proportion His Majesties late souldiers have receaved, doe finde themselves agreived; for the remedy of which discontents, and consideration being had of the paucity of said solders, to the intent that noe disquiet spirrits might prejudice the desired safety of this place, but that all might be encouraged to a vigorous defence of the same, itt was agreed that they should be paid at present according to His Majesties former establishment.

The second extract is from the instructions left with Young (28 January) by Oxenden and his colleagues on their departure from the island. The portion extant touched upon two topics, namely

[1] There is a modern transcript in *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 49, p. 71.

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the hindrance to trade caused by the Portuguese exaction of customs at Thāna, and the advisability of making the sale of coir a monopoly of the Company. As regards the first, it was concluded that nothing more could be done, pending the result of the recent reference to the home authorities. Regarding the second matter the writers said :

Wee finde that this island produces large quantities of cairo, and such as is verry good, insomuch that it carries a high esteeme that makes it sought for by most ; wherefore wee doe thinke it very necessary that it were prohibited to all from abroad and made the Companies comodity ; appointing convenient warehouses to receive itt and persons to be employed in itt, giveing order to all that make of itt to bring it to [a] certaine place, where they are to way off their cairo and receive their money ; putting such a just rate upon itt that the poore, whose trade it is, may not bee injured but rather encouraged to bring it in.

THE MALABAR COAST, 1668

As shown in the preceding volume, at the end of 1667 the position of the English on the Malabar Coast appeared to be desperate. In July, 1665, the Dutch had seized the factory at Porakād, and had carried off Alexander Grigby (the only Englishman there) as a prisoner of war ; a year later the Kārwār factors had been forced by the unsettled state of the country to abandon that place ; and towards the end of 1666 Smeaton and Barbor, the two merchants at Calicut, finding it impossible to satisfy the demands of the Zamorin for further loans of money, had fled secretly to Tanur, a place on the sea-coast twenty miles to the southwards, where the local chief had offered them shelter. There remained no spot along the whole coast where the English could still carry on trade ; and the monopoly at which the Dutch had so long been aiming seemed at last within their grasp.

The President and Council at Surat were sorely exercised over this state of things, particularly as the Calicut factors had left behind them in that town a considerable stock of pepper belonging to the Company. To recover this, if possible, an agreement was made with a Calicut merchant then in Surat, who undertook to fetch it away in the following August on freight terms (Consultation,

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17 January, 1668; printed in Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay State Papers, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 212). To Smeaton and Barbor the President and Council wrote on 21 January. No copy of the letter is extant; but its purport is sufficiently clear from the factors' reply. It blamed them severely for refusing to lend the Zamorin the money he demanded and especially for quitting their station, thus leaving the Company's goods exposed to confiscation. To this and to a subsequent letter of 14 April (likewise missing) Smeaton and Barbor replied at great length on 2 May, from 'Tanore', justifying their withdrawal on the ground that it was impossible to procure the money required by the Zamorin, and that they would only have imperilled their lives by remaining. They confessed that the Zamorin had not, after their flight, seized the goods left in the factory;

but this proceeded, not from a want of will to have possest himselfe of its vallue, but for want of customers to buy the same or to lend him mony upon it. After our flight all the merchants here began to tremble, for feare least the Samorine should force them to any inconveniencyes, and thereupon provided to follow us; untill the Queene and the Regidores [1] had assured them that they should not bee in the least troubled or molested.

They professed pleasure at learning that an agreement had been made for fetching away the pepper stored at Calicut, though they could have wished that the terms of freight had been settled at Surat and that the contractor had been tied down to employ only a vessel belonging to Calicut or 'some other noted port for trade and not to Cottah,[2] which is inhabited onely by pirates.' One of the factors would proceed shortly to Calicut to arrange matters.

On 27 July, Smeaton and Barbor wrote again, this time from Calicut. Smeaton declared that it had been found impossible to make a satisfactory agreement with 'Shammama', the merchant with whom the President and Council had negotiated, and who was now returning to Surat. Not only had he demanded an extortionate rate for freight, but he had declared that

hee could furnish us onely with theefe vessells, neither for them could hee give us any further security then his owne. . . . Whereupon, considering that these pyrates of Cottah are annuall tribu-

[1] Port. *regedor*, a ruler or magistrate.

[2] See the previous volume, p. 212.

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tary's to the Samorin, onely for a licence to steale, pillage, and cheate where and whom they please, and that rogues, of which that port likewise aboundeth, are daily protected by one rajah or another for a third or a half of the prizes taken by them,

the factors refused to let their pepper go by such a vessel, unless some substantial merchants would stand sureties for its safe delivery.

This letter, though written at the date given, in readiness for delivery to 'Shammama', was not sent off until 18 August, when the factors dispatched it with a note saying that that individual, in spite of his promises, had not come near them in the interval, and they were now confident that he did not intend to go to Surat, since he had found himself unable to perform what he had promised. A further note of 3 September acknowledged the receipt of fresh letters from Surat, and assured the President and Council that it was impossible to comply with the orders given therein that the pepper should be sent up in some Malabar vessel. Thus matters remained until the arrival of the *Charles* in October, as narrated later.

The Calicut letter of 18 August mentioned that Alexander Grigby had reached that town from Cochin on the 6th of the month. He had written to Surat from the latter place on 14 June, saying that the Dutch Governor had refused to release him until he received a copy of the treaty of peace, as he wished to ascertain whether by its terms the cost of the maintenance of a prisoner was recoverable or not; and, further, he objected to allow Grigby to go in any case to Calicut, because hostilities existed between the Zamorin and the Dutch. Meanwhile, he was allowed to move freely about the town and neighbourhood, Valkenburg being his surety. The latter had been so kind that Grigby would do nothing to injure him; but he was shortly to depart for Ceylon, and this would free him from any responsibility. Thereupon, unless released, Grigby would do his best to escape. He had dispatched his former interpreter to Porakād, who had brought back an answer from the Nayāk that he would willingly receive back the English, provided they came with sufficient force to protect both him and themselves against the Dutch. For the time being he was completely in the power of the latter. In a postscript Grigby said that, peace having been concluded, the Dutch intended to prosecute vigorously their war with the Zamorin, and it was certain that, in any agreement they might

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conclude with him, they would stipulate for the exclusion of the English from his dominions.

On 14 August Grigby sent two more letters, this time from Calicut. In the first he announced his arrival there. The Governor of Cochin had received the articles of peace about 19 July and had thereupon informed him that he could not be permitted to leave until he had refunded the cost of his maintenance during his imprisonment. He agreed, however, to accept a bond for repayment, signed by Grigby and Valkenburg; and on this being furnished, he released him. Grigby entreated the Surat Council to supply him with the means of discharging this obligation. In the second letter he reiterated his request, referred again to the question of resettling at Porakād, and gave some news from Cochin, including the loss of the Dutch *Liefde* near Cannanore,[1] and the rejoicings held for the recent successes in Macassar. The Dutch, he said, would now press hard upon the Zamorin and do their best to prevent the English from retaining any footing on the Malabar Coast.

They are yett at peace with the King of Zeilon, and not the least hopes of concording. At the newes of the peace all the small kings, from the Samorines land to Cape Comeryn, are quite disheartned, utterly despairing now of ever seeing any other Europians but the Dutch, and doe firmely credit the cursed lies by them (the Dutch) fomented in the time of the late warre.

Meanwhile at Surat, Oxenden and his Council had considered the desirability of sending a ship down the coast to reopen trade, if possible, at the Malabar ports, for not only was it necessary to prevent the Dutch from monopolizing the pepper supplies, but it was thought advisable to anticipate the French, who were known to be intending to settle at those ports. A consultation was accordingly held on 14 July,[2] at which the matter was debated. The only vessel that could be used for the purpose was the *Charles*,[3] which was then at Goa; and it was resolved to send Randolph Taylor thither in the Company's hoy with instructions to sell the *Charles's* cargo, take her down the coast, settling factories where he found

[1] See *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1668–9, p. 188.

[2] Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay State Papers, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 214. The instructions to Taylor will be found at p. 217 of the same volume (see also an extract in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2, p. 41).

[3] Often called the *Little Charles* (her burden was not much more than 100 tons). For her dispatch to India see the 1665–7 volume, pp. 314–8. Her captain's name was Samuel Smith.

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convenient, and finally proceed to Calicut, put matters in order there, and bring away the stock of pepper awaiting shipment. With him were sent Philip Giffard, Caesar Chamberlain, John Petit, Henry Oxenden, and Charles Bendish; also the broker Vālji. Any vessel belonging to 'our old perfidious enemy, that notorious rebell Sevage', should be captured and its cargo confiscated as part compensation for the losses he had caused the English. Other Malabar vessels found to be unprovided with an English pass should be released with a caution, if belonging to a state in amity with the English. Two vessels from Siam would probably be met with at Goa. They had Dutch and other passes, but had 'slighted ours, notwithstanding there were English in the country'; so it would be well, if opportunity offered, 'to frighten (but not hurt) them into a better esteeme of our people'. Giffard and Chamberlain were to be left at Kārwār. At Calicut Grigby was to be placed in charge of the factory, with Barbor as second; but Smeaton was to be sent to Surat, as being 'altogether unfit'. The *Charles* was to return to Surat without undue delay, as another ship would be sent down before long. On his way back Taylor might land Vālji at Jaitāpur, with instructions to go up to Rājāpur, under pretence of private business. Should the authorities there be found desirous of an accommodation and prepared to give compensation for past losses, Taylor was authorized to make an agreement with them; but he should persuade them to send a person of quality to Surat 'to confirme a league'.

These instructions were dated 14 August; and Taylor must have left Surat within a few days later. On the 30th of that month he wrote from Goa, announcing that he had arrived on the 22nd. Walter Clavell, the factor sent out by the Company in the *Charles* with letters for Madras, had been desperately ill and could not hope to start on his journey for some time; while Anthony Chappell, who was to go with him, was in still worse health. On Taylor's arrival a letter was dispatched to the Governor of Kārwār, who replied inviting them to proceed thither and promising them a good reception. It was reported in Goa that the Dutch had concluded an agreement with the Rāja of Kanara for an exclusive trade in the pepper produced in his country; but Taylor had written to 'Narne Malla' [1] and hoped for a favourable answer. The Portuguese had

[1] See the 1661–4 volume, p. 349.

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sent out two frigates to look for vessels belonging to the Zamorin and the Kanara Rāja, and would doubtless endeavour to prevent any ships from trading at those ports. Hearing of two junks at Mangalore ' for the French accompt ', they threatened a Frenchman at Goa that they would seize these if they found them in an enemy's port. This Frenchman

seems a person of some quallity, and relates that, being supra-cargo on a small ship, one of the fleet that came out with Signor Charoan, they mist St. Lawrence, and after many basking[1] too and fro they mett with a vessell upon the coast of Melinda that told them where they were and directed them to Soccatora. There they stayed four months, and then attempted to find St. Lawrence, but mist it the second or third tyme. But finding Musambeque, this gentleman resolved to continue with his blind guides noe longer; soe, leaveing the vessells to make another tryall of the pylotts skill, he came on a Portingall ship to this place in May last, and hath continued here ever synce, ignorant of what hath passed in their affaires at Surat. I proffered him passage on the hoy (for I had rather he were there then here), but he denyed to accept thereof; and I beleive the cheife reason is feare of Monsieur Charoan, whoe, I understand, is at enmity with him upon somewhat that happened in the terme of the voyage. He hath wrote letters to Surat, which Mr. Griffin will deliver you.

Taylor also found at Goa ' Signor Couckebacker ', the Dutch Second at Vengurla, who had come to negotiate for the release of a junk taken by the Portuguese and belonging to the Dutch broker in Persia. The Siamese vessels were in the harbour, and Taylor had ' throwne out such menaces as you enordered, to frighten them into better manners for the future '. Some arrack was being sent to Surat in the hoy; and more was being provided for the ship that was to follow the *Charles*.

Taylor's next letter was dated from Kārwār on 12 September. The ship had left Goa on the 5th and had reached Kārwār Roads two days later. Vālji was sent ashore to announce their arrival, ' and the meane time the captain and wee went round about the bay, sounding the same ', with the result that they discovered a creek affording excellent shelter, at the mouth of which was lying ' a greate shipp of this Kings (neere 600 tons) lately come from Mocha '.

[1] For ' buskings ', in the sense of a ship's beating or tacking.

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At night returned Velgee, and some other persons from the Governor to invite us ashoare. The next morning wee went, and were mett in the way by the Governors second, the Shawbunder, and others, the Governor excusinge not coming himselfe, by reason of the charge and trouble hee had upon him since the arrivall of the late Queene of Decan (who deceased at Mocha) her retinue. The next day wee visited him in the castle and were wellcomed with the greate guns and very civilly received. Wee then discoursed with him somewhat concerning former abuses offered our people, which hee seemed sencible of, and doth assure us that noe such thing shall ever happen in his time. However, wee desired wee might draw out a few lines in writing, that might declare the tearmes wee were to remaine on here, and the same might bee signd by both parties; which hee was consenting to. Soe I drew out what inclosed goes coppy of, and caused it to bee put into Portugeze and Persian language. The next day it was shewed him; but hee desired some time to consider thereof, and today I expect it signd. . . . If not, I shall leave it to Mr. Giffard, etc., to gett effected afterwards; for, having got ashoare what I intend to land here now, I purpose, God willing, to goe off today. The Governor of Hubely (which place is now in greate peace and quietnesse) and all the eminent merchants that way have wrote severall letters to us, very earnestly solliciting that wee will renew our commerce into those parts; and the Governor promiseth not onely to pay what was forced from Mr. Giffard but to inflict what punishment wee shall desire on the person that was cause thereof, who is now in prison, and the former Governor sent to Vizapore in irons. Wee have sent them civill answers, and promised our repaire thither ere long, provided wee may have assurance of the performance of what prespecifyed and that noe such injuryes may bee offered us hereafter.

They had landed lead, tin, quicksilver, and sword-blades, besides a thousand rials of eight. Taylor had received no answer from 'Narne Malla', nor could he learn whether there was any truth in the report that the Dutch had 'contracted with the Canara Rajah for his countryes whole product of pepper'.

The draft articles[1] referred to in this letter provided: 1. That the English should be well treated, and should be permitted to go up country or elsewhere at their pleasure. 2. That they might import

[1] From these it appears that the name of the Governor was 'Sied Abdell Hossan'. The terms were evidently based upon the former agreement (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 208).

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and export all manner of goods, paying 1½ per cent. for customs, except for treasure, which was to be free of duty. 3. That any goods not sold might be shipped off again without paying any duty at all. 4. That no hindrance should be placed in their way in selling their goods. 5. That if any merchant failed to pay for goods bought from the English, the Governor should either force him to do so or allow him to be detained in the factory until payment was made. 6. That, whereas the dwelling house that was formerly built at the charge of Rustam Zamān (' late owner of this towne ') and given to the English had partly fallen down, the factors should be allowed to rebuild the same and to reimburse themselves out of the customs due from them, up to a limit of 250 pagodas. 7. That no one should forcibly enter the factory, but that, if any difference of importance should arise, it should be settled by the Governor and the English Chief. 8. That disputes arising among the English should be decided by their Chief; and that disputes between Englishmen and Muhammadans should be settled by the Governor and the Chief together, the culprit being punished by the one or the other, according to his nationality. 9. That if any servant of the English should abscond, the Governor should do his best to secure his return. 10. That, if an English ship be wrecked within the King's dominions, all possible assistance should be given. 11. ' That the Governor shall at all tymes and on all occasions protect and secure from any abuse or injury the persons of the said Companies servants residing within his jurisdictions, and alsoe what goods and merchandize they have in their warehouses; and in case any violence or robbery shall happen to any of them or ought of theirs, the Governor shall cause reparation to bee made, as in justice the cause doth meritt; but if the delinquent doth not appeare, the Poto. [port?] is to bee answearable.' 12. That, in the event of a controversy between the brokers or other servants of the English and ' any of the country people ', the English Chief should punish the former, if found culpable, or the Governor the latter. A final clause stipulated that the Governor should endeavour to procure a *farmān* from the King of Bījāpur confirming the agreement.

Taylor's instructions to Giffard and the factors left at Kārwār (viz. Giffard, Chamberlain, and Bendish) directed them to send to Yellāpur, Sonda, Mīrjān, and other places to make contracts for pepper, and to do their best to procure various kinds of cotton

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goods. If necessary, the weavers might be assisted in the cost of altering their looms, in order to make the cloth broader than usual; but in that case they should be bound down to sell their goods only to the Company. A factor should be sent up to Hubli, carrying a stock of lead and tin, and accompanied by Vālji. All goods for shipment were to be ready 'by the middle of November at furthest, for about that time I hope to bee here againe'.

Taylor left Kārwār in the *Charles* on 13 September; but before following him down the coast something may be said regarding the progress of the Kārwār factory during the rest of the year. On 16 September Giffard and his colleagues wrote to Surat, announcing that they had

received letters from Narran Malla at Batticola [Bhatkal], wherein hee writes that the Dutch have contracted with his master for all the pepper that shall grow in his country, at pagodas Eskere 24 per candy.[1] The vallue of said pagoda is neerest 4 rupees. But notwithstanding this agreement betweene the Dutch and the Canara Rajah, Narran Malla in a letter to Mr. Taylor kindly invites him thither; soe that Mr. Taylor doth not totally despaire of procuring some pepper in those parts.

As Taylor was on the point of sailing, he asked the factors to request the President to send him word whether he might give as much as 24 pagodas per candy, if necessary.

The Dutch have likewise bin tampering here in these parts, but our appearing here, soe contrary to expectation, will, wee question not, put an end to that designe. How wellcome wee were to these people Mr. Taylor hath wrote Your Worship etc. at lardge; as alsoe how wee are invited upp the country. . . . Pepper hath bin very cheape of late at Hubely, but now it is risen a little againe, being at 11½ pagodas Sung[a]r[2] per barke,[3] at 12 maund that barke, and at Elap[o]re[4] it is 15 pagodas Sung[a]r per barke, which is neerest a Carwarr candy. . . . Peace betweene Orangazeeb and this King is at length certeinely concluded, this King being to pay the other [ ] lacke of pagodas in [ ] yeares time and deliver upp Solop[o]re,[5] a place of greate strength, with as much country belonging to it as yeilds 180 thousand pagodas yearely. There is

[1] According to the Surat letter of 2 November, the contract was for three years. 'Eskere may be meant for 'Ikkeri'. [2] See the 1655–60 volume, p. 243.
[3] See the 1661–4 volume, p. 240, and *infra*, p. 113. [4] Yellāpur (*ibid.*, p. 239).
[5] Sholāpur. For the position of these places see the map in the 1655–60 volume.

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a report that Orangazeeb hath given Solop[o]re and the ground belonging to it to this Kings embassadour, by name Shaw Abdall Hossin Commana ; but how true it is wee know not. The country all about at present is in greate tranquility. Ṣevagy keepes still at Rajah Guz [Raigarh] ; and though as yett there is noe peace made betweene this King and him, yet both refraine committing any acts of hostility against one the other.

The next letter from Kārwār (12 October) forwarded a copy (not extant) of the agreement, signed by the Governor ' and his mussunder '.[1] It was 20 September ' ere wee could gett them signed, after wee were forc't to alter some small matter in the 11th article '. The factors had heard that Taylor had reached Bhatkal on 18 September, very ill of a fever. His sickness had increased so much that for three days he lay senseless ; but, recovering a little, he had had himself carried on board, and had set sail for Calicut on 4 October. He could get no pepper at Bhatkal without paying the same price as the Dutch ; so he had sent word to the Kārwār factors to buy as much as they could procure instead. Giffard, too, had been very ill with fever, but was better, though weak. Authority was requested to issue passes for the ships of the port, as this was expected of them.

Meanwhile, the President and Council had not been unmindful of their promise to send another ship to the Malabar ports. As we have seen (p. 23), the *Constantinople Merchant* was at first designed for this service ; but later the design was changed, and the *Bantam* was dispatched instead, with Streynsham Master on board. He reached Kārwār on 26 October, and two days later made a report to the President, in which he said :

Your affaires here I observe to bee in a very good posture ; the factory in greate assurance of the affections of these people, though the King hath bestowed this part of the country upon one of his Umbraws. But they dread Sevagee, whose force and weils are not easily withstood, should hee rove this way, which is not now feared. . . . I have supplyed them [the factors] with 30,000 rupees ; with which, and what Mr. Taylor landed here out of the *Charles*, they doubt not to procure upwards of 100 tonns of pepper, to bee downe at port by the end of November. I have alsoe furnished them with what I could spare for presents. . . . Velgee is returned from Batticola (where hee stayed untill the *Charles* sayled thence,

[1] Probably the *Majumbār* or *Majmūdār*, who had charge of the revenue accounts of the district.

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and saw Mr. Taylor on board and better recovered then on shore), and since gone upp to Hubely about procury of the pepper, which hee doubts not to accomplish, notwithstanding all the underhand agitation of Narne Malla, who (it seemes) hath wholly imbraced the Dutch intrest and manadgeth it with all his skill and power; soe absolutely forsaking us that hee hath much injured our proceedings. And since hee hath first begunn, if you shall please to follow in requitall of unkindnesses, hee and all his masters country of Canara its thought will soone repent of their ill using us, and bee as apt to disengage themselves of the Dutch. But lett them combine never soe much, our freinds doubt not here of procuring about 200 tonns of pepper yearely, if you please to give the bazar rate and supply them with ready mony. I have discourst your desires of pepper plants, and hopes of their growth at Bombay, with our freinds here, and left it reccommended to them; who promise their uttmost endeavours in the same, but feare they shall not bee able to perswade any of the people to goe from theire country, and therefore doe thinke of setting some persons to learne that husbandry, who wilbee willing to carry it to Bombay. Mr. Clavell is on his way from Goa hither and expected here in a day or two; this being found the best and securest way overland.[1] I have desired our freinds here to supply him with the 500 zera-p[hin]s you have ordered now more then formerly Mr. Taylor appointed Mr. Portman to pay him; the mony at Goa being now to come into their hands, and Mr. Portman gone thence to Callicutt. . . . Tomorrow (God willing) I shall leave this place and prosecute our voyage to Callicutt.

On 12 November the Kārwār factors sent a long letter to Surat, in answer to one brought by Master. In this they said:

Wee take notice of what Velgy wrote of the Dutches intentions of meeting the Rajahs Purdon[2] of Sunda, and shall now write what wee know thereof. As yett noe Dutchman hath bin [with?] the Rajah or his Purdon; but Narran Malla hath oblidged the Coatt[3] in the Dutches name, who is hee that rents the customes of all that Rajahs country, that hee shall furnish them with what

[1] Clavell wrote from Goa to Surat on 20 October, saying that he was better and hoped to start in a couple of days. He was staying in a Carmelite convent, the Fathers having kindly given him shelter when he found himself unable to procure a house. Ten days earlier a messenger had brought letters to him from Wilkins at Golconda, who said that he had received several letters from Jearsey inquiring for him.

[2] *Pradhān* or *Purdhān*, a chief minister.

[3] Marāthi *Khoia* or *Khot*, a farmer of land revenue or customs.

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pepper hee can, at the price current there; which is the reason that not onely wee, but most people, beleive that either Narran Malla alone, or that hee and the Dutch Cheife together, have agreed to buy the pepper at the bazar price and rate it to the Dutch Company at the Batcola price for their owne particular profitt. Wee have sent up to Sunda likewise, and have bought 50 candy there, and have received a very civill letter from the Rajah and one of the cheife men about him, with invitation of a mutuall trade. At first wee found a greate deale of trouble by Narran Mallaes and the Dutches party there, who much opposed our trading there; but at last, by meanes of some freinds there, all them obstacles were removed, and wee have received a passe from the Rajah to buy and sell in his country. Narrān Malla hath sent a present in the Dutches name to the Rajah, and hath alsoe sent the Coatt money beforehand to buy pepper. Notwithstanding which, if wee are timely provided with ready money, wee question not but to buy a good quantity in them parts. . . . Wee have bin very diligent in enquiring whether or noe the Dutch can by any meanes monopolize the pepper growing in the Sunda Raja's country, and are informed that they cannot; for which they give this reason, that the pepper . . . is none of the Rajahs nor at his disposing, but that every one plants what hee pleases, for which paying such a duty, they may transport it whether they will; whereas the pepper of Cannora is all the Rajahs. This country will vend every yeare 225 or 250 peeces of cloth and 50 tunns of lead. As for our other Europe commodities, wee cannot tell what this country will take off, by reason the marketts rise and fall according as they are furnish't from other places; vizt., tin and copper the Dutch sometimes bringing greate quantityes and soe make it cheaper, whereas sometimes the Dutch putt little ashoare here, and then it quickly rises again. Wee heartily lament the long stay of the *Returne* and *Rebecca*, for their appearance here, as alsoe downe the Coast Mallabarr, would have much regain'd our masters credit in these parts and lessened the Dutches, when people see that the stories the Dutch had told them of their conquering the English and turning them out of India were meere forgeries.

Nevertheless, the factors were confident of being able 'to rub out well enough till next yeare', provided that shipping were sent to fetch away the pepper and funds were provided for a fresh investment. Taylor left orders for them to buy 1,000 candy of pepper; and when they sent word after him that the cost, all charges

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included, would be about 24 pagodas per candy, he authorized them to pay that rate. Thereupon they purchased 500 candy at Hubli on credit, and would have bought more, had they had more money and had not the Surat letter now received stated that 200 tons was the total limit. When a further supply of money should come to hand, they would begin an investment in dungarees. They were endeavouring to procure the pepper plants wanted for Bombay, as also a man 'that understands how to manure [i. e. cultivate] them'. Clavell and Chappell had started for Madras on 2 November, though both were as yet weak.

Cardimons are now at 15 Sung[a]re pagodas per bale of one maund Hubely, and seed lacke at 4½ pagodas per barkey, each barkey being neerest 3 cwt. Wee received last night a letter from Velgee that advises that there is a good quantity of saltpeter to bee procured about Hubely, which hee sayes may bee refined and brought downe hither, all charges included, for 3 or 3½ rupees the Suratt maund.... The Vice King of Goa died the [ ] of October of a feavour. His place is supplyed by three Governours, vizt. Antonio de Mello de Castro, Luis Miranda Henriques (at present Governour of Diu), and Manuell Cortee Riall. The Vice King a little before his death, searching narrowly through all his townes, found 4 or 500 men of Sevagyes had [1] upp and downe in severall places; upon which hee sent for Sevagys embassadour and with his owne hand tooke him two or three cuffs in the eare, and turned him, and all the prisoners hee had tooke, out of Goa. Immediately after which Sevagy raises a great army of 8 or 10,000 foote and 1000 horse, and gives out hee intends against Goa in person; which hath putt the Portugeze in armes, building new and mending all old forts, keeping very strickt guards in all passadges, and its generally thought that Sevagy will not bee able to doe anything against it. The truth on it is it is not absolutely knowne whether [i. e. whither] hee intends; hee as yett being with his army to the northward of Rojap[o]r. Wee have bin very inquisitive, not onely with the Governour here, but with all merchants etc. hereabouts, whether there is any feare of him here or noe, and their opinion is hee will not breake the peace with this King or disgust the owner of this country, who is a greate favorite and at present embassadour with Orangzeebs sonne [2] at Orangnovad [Aurangābād],

[1] Hid?

[2] Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, who had succeeded to the viceroyalty of the Deccan in May 1667.

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being returned from Agra, having concluded the peace betweene Orangzeeb and his master to his masters greate satisfaction; for which his good service the King hath bestowed this country on him, and his governours have taken possession, the owner, though an Umbra, yet still a greate trader; as alsoe is this Governour, who, having seene formerly what greate respect the English had in the Persian court, doth endeavour to oblidge us on all occasions. A letter from Your Honour to Gasty Ckan,[1] late Governour of Suratt and now resident (as wee suppose) with the Prince at Orangnovad, may (if hee can prevaile with the Prince his master to speake to the embassadour something in our favour) bee very helpfull to us. If Sevagy should fall out with this King and come this wayes, wee shall not despaire of saving our pepper and selves from his clutches. Wee neglect noe opportunity of informing ourselves where hee is and when hee intends to march, as alsoe which way; soe doe not feare a surprize. A few dayes will shew his intentions, and then wee will send Your Honour the certeinety. Wee want some things for presents very much; and if Your Honour etc. shall thinke fitt that one of us should goe upp to the Sunda Rajah, it will much increase our credit with him and hinder the Dutches proceedings; which if you approve of, pray furnish us with a present accordingly, and wee shall husband it as well as wee can and give noe more then what needs. If Your Honour etc. could spare us some lead and a little cloth, it would not onely sell for a good price, but doe us a greate deale of credit. . . . PS. Wee forgott to incert the name of the owner of this country; which was formerly Shaw Abdall Hussun Commana, but now Nabob Mustapha Ckan, being a new title lately confer'd on him by the King.

The next letter (16 December, signed by Giffard and Chamberlain) gave further information regarding Sivāji's designs on Goa.

Sevagy having, by small parcells and severall pretences, gott 4 or 500 men into Goa, and hoping by degrees to have double the number, did not question but such a number would bee able, upon a suddaine rising in the night, to secure him any one of the passes, whereby hee might enter his men before the Portugalls could have raised a considerable army to resist him, [and] did not doubt of carrying it. But after his arrivall at Vingurla, finding his plot discovered, his men seized, and the Portugall[s] well provided to

[1] Ghiyās-ud-dīn (see the 1661–4 volume, p. 314). He had been succeeded by Zainu'l-'ābidīn Khān (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ii, p. 91 *n.*).

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give him a hott reception, desisted from his designe, and went and viewed all his castles thereabouts, changing their men, and putting in provitions and amunition; which when hee had done, finding all places hereabouts resolved to deny him passage and fitted to fight him, if hee endeavoured to force it; upon which, under pretence of some extraordinary that called him away for Rajahgur, hee raised his army and away hee went, and is by this time the best part of his way thither, fleecing his owne governours and servants, as hee goes along, towards the payment of his army, with which hee hath soe alarmed all this country round about that, notwithstanding hee is gone soe farr off, the people are soe affraid still that they will hardly be perswaded to beleive the news of his departure can bee true; but wee know it. And now our feare of him is over, wee shalbee the better able to looke into the designes of our other crafty enemy, the Dutch; who are very stirring, though wee hope to little purpose. They have bin very sollicitous here with the Governour by letters to give them leave to settle a factory at Gocoron,[1] a place hard by Mirgee [Mīrjān] and under this Governour (as alsoe is Mirgee itselfe); which wee being informed of, wee resolve[d] to hinder that their designe, if possible; which in a few dayes wee had meanes to effect, notwithstanding their greate promises of trade and presents; which this Governour much insisted on, till one day Phillip Giffard going to see him, hee presently himselfe begun to discourse of it, and at last was soe farr perswaded that the whole plott was rather to destroy then to encrease trade, that hee, resolve[d] not to loose the substance for a shadow, declared hee would not heare them any more that endeavoured to promote their designe; soe gave them a flatt denyall and return'd theire present, which was some spices and peeces of damaske. And at that time hee alsoe promised to write to Your Honour a letter, wherein wee perswaded him, to take away all thought of your withdrawing your factors away from this port, to give it under his hand and seale that hee would never graunt their request; which hee hath done in his letter to Your Honour. . . . The Governour doth alsoe much endeavour to hinder their designe at Sunda alsoe, where, seeing they cannot monopolize the pepper, they have gott a promise that, if wee buy any in Sunda country, it shall not bee permitted to passe; which this Governour hearing hath not onely wrote the Rajah very much about it, telling that lett him have a care what hee does, for the Nabob will severely revenge himselfe on any that shall endeavour to spoyle his port

[1] Gokarn (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 76).

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by stopping any merchants goods belonging thereto. Hee hath likewise wrote his master that, if hee does not remedy it by getting a phirmaund from the King about it, that his port is absolutely spoyled and that, if the English cannot trade freely here, they will quickly leave this place, and then what evill consequences that may produce hee leaves to him to judge. The Kings agent here hath likewise wrote to all his freinds at court that neither the Kings shipps nor merchants dare put to sea till the English are assured of a secure trade in his kingdome without any molestation, according to a phirmaund formerly graunted us. Wee had the perusall of all their letters, and they are all wrote with much earnestnesse; soe doe not question getting a phirmaund to the Rajah of that validity that, if a supply of money come time enough before the Dutch buy all upp, wee shalbee able to buy as well and as cheape as they; but, on the contrary, should wee bee disappointed of our expectations of having a stocke downe by whatsoever vessell that shalbee sent downe for the pepper wee have allready bought, wee then shall not bee able to procure any pepper afterwards at all; first the Dutch buy all that the Sunda country yeilds, Hubely cannot bee furnished as formerly, the merchants there having all their pepper from these parts and the Connera Rajahs country, the pepper of the latter of which the Dutch have allready secured to themselves. There is now in Hubely 200 tonns of old pepper yet left; which if it were bought upp, the French could not procure any this next yeare; which would much hinder their designes alsoe. They have settled at Rajap[o]r, and have mett Sevagy, who gave them some clothes and a phirmaund to trade freely in all his ports. When they were with him, hee was very inquisitive why the English did not come alsoe; saying hee would give them all what hee had rob'd of them in his customes; but the country merchants told him the English demanded ready money. Hee shooke his head and said noe more. The country under this Governour yeilds about 150 candies [of pepper] a yeare; which if wee have ready money to buy it with, wee are promised the refusall of it; and if wee doe not take it, the Dutch will gett it. They have laded two shipps with pepper from Batticola allready, in which they brought four elephants for the Rajah and a good quantity of lead, copper, and spice to sell.

The factors had over 140 tons of pepper awaiting shipment, and hoped also to send to Surat samples of the calicoes desired, 'haveing sett weavors a worke long since.' This letter was being carried by the *Bantam* (which had called at Kārwār on her return voyage), and

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a quantity of saltpetre (costing 3½ rupees per Surat maund) and of stick-lac (at 3¼ rupees per Surat maund) had been put aboard that vessel.

We have now to follow the *Charles* to Calicut, where she arrived on 10 October. Taylor's illness had proved fatal that very morning, and his body was buried ashore the next day. The ship was quickly laden with pepper and cardamoms, and on the 20th she started on her voyage for Surat, carrying two letters of that date, the one from Smeaton (Barbor being ill at Tanur), giving particulars of her lading, and the other from Grigby (bearing also the signatures of Petit and Henry Oxenden), making a general report.

Wee have onely delivered Eriman Acha his letter from the President, presenting him with some of the presents, to the vallue of 50 rupees; and at our conference had with him, find [him] by all outward appearance to bee very well affected and inclined to our nation. And to him wee have commended the sollicitation of our buisynesse with the Samorine and the rest of the Rajahs, untill such time that the other shipp bee arrived and dispeeded; untill which wee cannot desert the factory, by reason of the distance of their residences. And after the dispatch of said shipp wee have promised to visit the Samorine ourselves in person. In the meane time wee have laid before the said Eriman all the perswading arguments that our weake capacityes could invent to animate them to a resistance of the insulting tyrannizing Dutch and their designes; of which they seeme to bee very sencible. And wee shall still continue minding them with its consequences, heartily wishing it may answer our intentions. Neither doe wee in our particulars feare the Dutch, but that their mightinesse in these parts may obstruct all our poore endeavours in our masters service; there being noe fast or certeine foundation to bee built upon Mallabarrs promises, being the inconstant[e]s[t] and perfidiousest people in the world, and therefore dare neither encourage or discourage Your Worship etc. concerning this factory, but leave its event to time and God. As yett wee have noe newes of the Dutch forces arrivall in Cochine.

Grigby forwarded copies of the letters he had written to Porakād, but gave it as his opinion that

those people will not admitt us againe, except wee had a force that would equalize the Dutches; . . . and as for the debt, without some force to countenance us, its not recoverable; being confident they will never give any satisfaction voluntarily.

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He also sent an account of his release by the Dutch, and again solicited the means of repaying his obligation to Valkenburg. He announced that Barbor, having been very ill, intended to return to Surat with Smeaton in the next ship; 'and John Pettit will remaine here for the writers yokefellow.' Other details were left to be narrated by Henry Oxenden, who would also return by the ship expected. 'Saria Taar' [Sera Tāra] was 'out of towne, about the marriage of a sobrinha'; [1] but the President's letter had been forwarded to him, and on his return a present would be bestowed upon him, as 'hee, being the towne broker, may prove usefull to us, being an antient man and of good repute in this place. . . . It is now credibly reported that the second Rajah is dead; which, if true, is noe bad newes for us, hee holding a greate corrispondency with the Hollanders and much favouring their parts'. The commander of the *Charles* had been ordered to go into Rājāpur Road and there destroy or capture any vessel belonging to Sivāji.

After calling at Bombay the *Charles* anchored at Swally on 20 November, when the captain (Samuel Smith) announced his arrival in a short note to the President. Oxenden was dissatisfied with the small quantity of pepper that had been taken in at Calicut, suspecting that preference had been given to private merchandise; but a report by Captains Whitehorn and Badiley (8 December) showed that the reason was the small tonnage of the vessel.

Streynsham Master, on board the *Bantam*, reached Calicut on 6 November and left again at the end of the month, taking with him Henry Oxenden. Their report of their experiences at Calicut (including a Mopla outbreak) was contained in a letter which they wrote on 31 December, intending to send it overland to Surat from Bassein, as the vessel was being delayed by contrary winds and they were anxious to advise the President as soon as possible of the state of affairs on the Malabar Coast. Shortly afterwards they met Oxenden and his squadron making for Bombay, and (as already narrated) the *Bantam* by his orders attended him to that port. Had this happened a few days earlier, we should not have had this vivid narrative, from which we take the following extracts.

At our arrival at Callicutt Ariman Acha, the Governour, was not in towne, but some dayes before was gone to the Samorines court

[1] Portuguese for 'niece'.

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to condole the losse of the Second Rajah and congratulate the succession of the Third Rajah to his place. Soe it was 4 or 5 dayes ere wee could gett licence of the Customer to lade goods, by reason of the Governours absence. But the 13th November the Governour arrived and bid us wellcome as from the Rajas, who (hee said) much desired to see us at court and hee had promised his best assistance to further us to them; which was the reason of his soe soone coming thence; otherwise his buisinesse was done.

Master at first objected that time would not permit of this; but the Governor pressed them very much, urging that the journey would not take more than six days in all and could be made while the ship was taking in its cargo. He also promised to procure another vessel from 'a place hard by, called Cota', to take in the surplus goods on freight terms.

All which considered, wee unanimously agreed to consent to the Governours request; but it pleased God otherwise to dispose of our affaires, by permission of an unhappy accident by the hand of one of the souldiers (by name Samuell Gilbert) whom you were pleased to order to attend Mr. Taylor and in his absence on us; who, being spoke to to fitt themselves for the voyadge, went to dischardge their peeces, and the said person, in dischardging his, shott a Moore fisherman through the thigh, who was in a cannoo upon the sea; upon which all the Moplaes (soe the Moores are called) gathered together to consult in their musseer,[1] whether the wounded man was carryed; whom wee offered our chirurgion to dresse and cure, but nothing of that would bee heard. They came immediately in a tumult armed, and sett upon our boates crew, then goeing off, and wounded four of our men, whereof the purser, Mr. Thomas Boone, is in greate hazard of loosing both his armes, one bone of each being cutt in two, besides many other small wounds in his body; and one William Wake, a seaman, had tenn wounds, whereof four in his head, his eye quite out, and his skull cutt soe that his braines appeared in two places. The other two men were not soe miserably cutt.[2] Having done this, the villaines

[1] Probably written 'musseet' in the original, i. e. *masjid* (mosque).

[2] A letter from Capt. Barker at Swally to the Company, 14 January, 1669, says that these two were the ship's doctor and Daniel Thorowgood. It states also that the wounded Moplah 'was carried to the English house, our chyrurgions and medicines required to dresse him. When all things were prepared, and our chyrurgions ready, the Mores fetched him out of the house and would not suffer him to bee drest, butt went to their musqueet (which is their place of worship), and there agreed to kill all the English they could meet with'. The name of the injured English sailor is given as Weight (not Wake).

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return'd to enter our house, but (praysed bee God) the doores kept them out. Then they murdered a poore Polonian, who came from the Dutch and was intended to come upon our shipp; who fell by our house wall. Then they threatned to destroy all the Banians belonging to us. And all this was done before the Governour and Customer, who sate still, beholding but not able to prevent it; without any demand of justice, and their wounded man yett living. At last, after about three howres furious roving about our house, the Governour and other Naires prevailed with them to goe to their homes; after which hee came to us, very sencible of the injury, and gave us large promises of justice and many comfortable words. All this hapned upon the 17th of November, and the next day, the Governour finding hee was not able to doe us such justice as the offence merited, hee desired wee would give leave that hee might goe to the Samorine, from whom hee onely wanted one word of command and then hee was able to destroy all the Moplaes in Callicutt, if wee would desire itt. His absence, hee said, should not bee above foure dayes; in the which time hee had given order for a sufficient guard to secure our house from any attempt; and, that noe lett should bee to our buisynesse, hee ordered the Customer in our presence to lett us shipp off all our goods soe fast as wee pleased. And then, hee said, if in four dayes hee did not procure us such satisfaction as should secure our residence with honnour and safety, hee would himselfe intreate us to bee gone, for it was neither safe for us nor honnourable for the Samorine or himselfe to desire our stay otherwise. Wee were something pleased to heare him speake our minds; and though wee made some demurr upon his goeing, fearing the detardance of our buisynesse, yet wee found it convenient to consent to him, elce wee must have bin soe satisfyed; whereupon hee departed that evening. But when wee went about to cleare the house of our goods, the Customer pretended hee had noe order to lett us export goods formerly imported, but onely such as wee bought . . . soe wee were forc't to stay for Ariman Achas returne, which was the 24th (two dayes beyond his promise); when hee brought two olaes, one from the Samorine Rajah, who wrote us hee was much displeased at the injury wee had received and had sent two of his owne guard to the Queene and the Fourth Raja, who were together neer Callicutt, to see that justice were done us. The other olae was from the Second Rajah, who wrote hee was much displeased at the injury and was resolved to come himselfe in person to execute justice upon the offenders; to which last olae the Governour pressed us much for an answer, in regard, hee said, hee was ordered by the Raja to send him immediate word

if wee could stay untill his coming, for then hee would make the more hast. By this time wee perceived what wee were to expect from them; wherefore, after some debate among ourselves, wee returned him answer that wee were much belated and wee could not stay above two dayes longer at the most; in which time wee desired him to cleare our accompts and by noe meanes to detard us more, but give order that our goods might goe off; to which hee replyed that, since wee were soe minded, hee was resolved wee should see ourselves have justice before wee went, and that at furthest on the morrow; to which time hee desired our patience. That came and passed; but noe Governour came neere us, as usuall. And soe for two dayes more, pretending hee was very buisy about it, but wee were informed all that hee could doe or intended was to pull downe a poore mans thatcht house (it may bee, one the least guilty), and soe wee must have bin intreated to bee satisfyed, and by noe meanes admitted to cleare the factory, soe as to quitt the place. This wee alsoe well guessed was their intent, by their many wayes contriving to delay us; wherefore wee resolved to put them out of all doubt of our leaving the factory, by assuring them of our peoples abode there, and this wee thought would bee the best expedient for our getting thence (as it proved); elce they would never lett us have brought off our goods. Soe the 28th November, after many intreatyes, wee perswaded the Governour and Seria Tare to come to us, and told them Mr. Grigby and Mr. Petitt should remaine, and our buisynesse to proceed as formerly, which they might bee assured of; and therefore wee desired a quicke dispatch in the evening of our accompts. They were very glad to heare [this?] and immediately went about our buisynesse and making upp our accompt customes; wherein they allowed the money formerly forced from Mr. Smeaton etc. And the next day wee were in a readinesse to bee gone, but were advised it was necessary first to give the Queene and Fourth Raja a visitt and present, recommending the protection of our factory to them; which wee did, and allsoe oblidged the Governour and all the other officers with presents to the same; which hath something assured our freinds of their quiett residence, more then any their former promises, which to the last they were not slacke in. . . . Thus the last of November wee left Callicutt.

A stock of about 13,182 rupees was left with the two factors, to be invested in 200 candies of pepper and some cardamoms. Boone and Wake were still too ill to be moved, and so the surgeon's mate was left behind to attend upon them. The surgeon himself was one

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of those wounded, but he and the fourth sufferer had both recovered. Owing to the troubles the vessel from Cotta was not procured; so the surplus goods were placed in two country ships, the *Nakdi* and the *Salāmati*. Smeaton and Barbor embarked in the former vessel, at their own desire.

The evening before our departure from Callicutt arrived there the *Ruparrell* [*Rūpārel*] and another small vessell, both with French collours, for accompt the French Company. And the next morning came three French merchants on shoare, desiring licence to trade and settle a factory there. The people expected them some time before, but doe not greately care for theire company. Yet since, wee are advised, they are gone to the Samorine with their presents, accompanied with Ariman Acha, and pretend to aske leave to build a fort upp the river of Cranganore, above the Dutch fort of Cranganore, to prevent the Dutches invasions into the Samorines country; whereat the Naires seeme pleased. What the end of that wilbee, God knowes; but they are not like to make a saving voyadge of it this yeare; for goods will not sell at Callicutt (whereof they have store), neither is there any pepper to bee gott; which upon their arrivall rose from 11½ to 13 cheq[uin]s per candy, neither at that rate is it to bee had, unlesse they stay till February or March for the new cropp (whereby will arise greate losse in weight). And lett them fill upp with any other trash, yett will it bee very late ere they returne. During our abode at Callicutt, wee understood that the Raja of Cananore had sent a person to Batticola, hearing of Mr. Taylors being there, to desire some correspondence with our nation. Whereupon wee tooke occasion to begin with him againe; who presently tooke hold of the occasion, and invited us to a port of his, called Durmapatan,[1] about two or three leagues to the southward of Cananore, in sight of it. And the day before wee came from Callicutt came a Braman from [him?] to sollicite us with all importunity to toutch at said port; which wee concluded would not bee much our hinderance, and therefore resolved to comply with him. The 2nd December wee put in there; and after some treaty, found the Raja and people were very weary of the Dutch yoke and would doe anything to bee eased of it. Hee propounded many wayes to continue a trade with us, and [was] very importunate to strike upp a bargaine for pepper, cardimons, and cowries; upon which hee would have moneys paid him in earnest, but wee did not find that convenient, considering his

[1] Dharmapatam, about two miles north-west of Tellicherry.

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obligation to the Dutch, by whom hee is bound not to sell any pepper, cardimons, or cassia lignum to any people wearing hatts but to themselves; soe much hee confessed to us. Then hee proposed our settling a factory and [at?] Nelesere,[1] a port to the northward of Cananore some 8 or 10 leagues and out of the bounds of his obligation to the Dutch; where hee proposeth to build a strong place for our security, and thither hee will bring us all sorts of goods wee shall desire. To this wee gave him encouragement, and alsoe hopes of some redresse from his yoke. And the more to assure him of a future commerce, it was at first thought convenient Mr. Grigbie should thus farr accompany us from Callicutt, that they might begett acquaintance to a future better correspondence; who now went on shore to returne to Callicutt. But before wee could gett away, wee were saluted by the Dutch from Cananore with a protest for trading within their limitts, which they pretend is a breach of the 11th and 12th articles of the peace; to which wee returned an answer; both which you may please to peruse at our arriveall. All wee could procure roome for here was 20 bales cardimons, which were bought cheaper then the Dutch pay. The Rajah told us hee was bound to deliver them 200 candy pepper at 14½ pagodas, and 50 candy cardimons at 50 pagodas per candy yearely, and in the roome thereof to take cloves at 430 pagodas per candy, nuttmeggs at 160 pagodas, mace at 440 pagodas, and sometimes copper and tinn. Wee have not heard much of the Dutch upon the coast this yeare; onely that they prosecute their designe of ingrossing all the pepper of Canara and about Mergie, Sunda, and Ellapore, but tis hoped twill not take. From Batticola they have laden two shipps with pepper, and had two small vessells at Cananore that supplyed that fort with victualls and amunition. The French put in at Batticola and Mangalore, but did nothing at either place. At Rajapore, wee heare, they put a broker ashoare; but Sevagy would not let them have the English house. Whilst they were there, tis said an English shipp (which must then bee the *Charles*) came in in the night and shott them sorely. They spoke not of it at Callicutt; but the people of Rajapore say twas an English shipp, though shee did it and went out againe in the night.

The next stopping place of the *Bantam* was Kārwār, where she arrived on 12 December. Master left the factors a good supply of money, but could not take in any of the pepper, of which about

[1] Nileshwar, in South Kanara district.

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140 tons were lying ready. He reported that about 250 tons in all would be ready shortly and that the calico investments were well in hand. Leaving Kārwār on 16 December, Bombay was reached ten days later. There Master landed a quantity of pepper plants, procured at Calicut and Kārwār; 'but could not gett any of the natives to accompany us with it, nor could wee gett any cardimon plants, but at Carwarr there are some promised.' The *Bantam* sailed again the next morning, and the rest of the voyage has already been narrated.

Master's report was supplemented by a letter which he brought from Grigby and Petit, the two factors left at Calicut, dated 30 November. In this the former expressed his gratitude for the payment of the money necessary to discharge his debt at Cochin, and for the receipt of his wages up to September. The 'horrible, infamous, and bloody massacre' that had occurred was left to be narrated by Master. 'Thus wee remaine here as affronted persons, in what jeopardy is needlesse for ourselves to mention; resolving not to stirr out of our house untill such time as wee either receive some kind of justice or other advice from your Honour etc.' A supply of gunny bags for their pepper by the next ship was desired. The Dutch at Cochin were 'very still', but expected their Admiral [1] daily. It was hoped that their force would not arrive that monsoon.

In their report to the Company of 15 January, 1669, Oxenden and his colleagues had naturally much to say about the course of affairs on the Malabar Coast; but in the main they merely summarized what has been narrated in the foregoing pages. Some passages, however, seem to merit quotation.

Wee found the Dutch had a designe to engrose all the pepper, without any respect to the dearness, merely to out us; for they had then contracted with the Rajah of Batticalla for all the pepper his country afforded, at 24 pagodoes per candy, a price never heard of before; and that they were going to another Rajah, lying between Hubely and Batticolla, to tye up him also; which they had done, had wee not prevented them in the very instant of time by happily setling your factory of Carwarr so early; where Mr. Gyffard, being timely advisd by Mr. Taylor, stept in and spoild that bargaine; Mr. Taylor being then in Batticolla, treating with one Narran Mollah, that Rajahs cheife merchant and agent, hoping

[1] Rijkloff van Goens.

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by his former acquaintance to have gained some interrest amongst them; but in the close all proved fruitless, and wee could not get one corne. Their argument was they had no other meanes for subsistance of trade but that of pepper, and that their country afforded nothing else; so that, if they could not have vent for their commoditie, the Rajah would bee greatly necessitated how to pay his souldiers; and hee had found there was no confiding in us, for there had not been any English ship in that port for three yeares together; wherefore they thought it more secure to accept the voluntary proffer made them by the Dutch, in regard they saw they were full of shipping, money, and comodities, and that 'twas observed wee were wanting in all these particulers; wherefore they could not be blamed. The contract the Dutch have made is binding for three yeares; at the expiration of which tyme wee feare the Dutch will further engage him. This Rajah and that wee lately spoke of (that the Dutch were intended to tie up) have the two principall pepper countryes all thereabouts, and that the Dutch well knew.

However, the Council did not despair of maintaining a footing in those parts, provided they were supplied with sufficient stock and the necessary shipping. Master's negotiations with the Cannanore Rāja were mentioned, and also the resulting protest from the Dutch. In that place, it was declared, cardamons were to be had at cheap rates and of a quality not to be equalled elsewhere. The Rāja's offer to contract with the English was subject to a proviso that,

if wee did enter into conditions with him, wee would not afterwards leave him exposed to the Dutch, who would take their advantages upon him. Mr. Master gave him encouragement in all, desiring time to acquaint his superiours with it, whome hee did not doubt would readily embrace it and the next yeare bring him an account of all. Thus you may please to see pepper is yet to be had there and in other places to good quantities, if wee take hould of the present tyme, before the Dutch have tyed them up and shutt us out.

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THE COROMANDEL COAST, 1668

At the commencement of the year Madras was still in the possession of Sir Edward Winter and his adherents, and Agent Foxcroft remained a prisoner in the Fort. The dispatch of Walter Clavell in the *Charles*, with letters from the King, ordering Winter to yield up his usurped authority and reinstate Foxcroft, was narrated in the preceding volume; while the arrival of the *Charles* at Goa, Clavell's long illness there, and his departure overland for the Coast via Kārwār early in November, 1668, have all been chronicled in the preceding chapters.

When the conclusion of peace with the Dutch made it possible for the Company to send out a considerable number of ships, no time was lost in equipping a squadron for Madras, intended both for the reduction of Fort St. George and thereafter for the resumption of the usual commerce. Five ships were hired for this purpose, namely, the *Blackamoor*, 240 tons (Capt. John Price), the *Loyal Merchant*, 520 tons (Capt. Henry Risby), the *Unicorn*, 330 tons (Capt. Thomas Harman), the *Rainbow*, 380 tons (Capt. Richard Goodlad), and the *Madras Merchant*, 250 tons (Capt. William Wildy); and to these was added a frigate of sixty tons (the *Diligence*), which the Company had caused to be built and had placed under the command of William Hutchins. A force of soldiers was sent out, and an agreement was made with the owners of the vessels that two-fifths of the crews might be landed to assist, should military operations prove necessary. The instructions given to the commanders and those associated with them in the commission [1] were that, upon arrival at Madras, the King's declaration of 12 April, 1667, was to be publicly read in the town. Should this produce no effect, it should then be made known that all those on shore who should assist in the reduction of the Fort would be rewarded, and that the soldiers in particular, upon its surrender, would not only be pardoned and reinstated, but would be given any arrears of pay that might be due, and a sum of 2,000 pagodas would be distributed amongst them. In the event of this failing, a reward should be offered to any who should procure the release of Foxcroft and his fellow prisoners; and the mutineers should be warned of the consequences of their

[1] A list of the names will be found in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 255).

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continued rebellion. In the last resort, force should be applied ' for reducing the Fort, either by batterie, storming, or other meanes ' ; and rewards were promised, in the event of success, to all who engaged in the enterprise. If success had not been obtained by 20 July, one of the ships was to be left to blockade the Fort and prevent all trade, while the rest were to proceed to Masulipatam.

In addition, private instructions, dated 24 January, were handed to the commissioners, which were to be opened only upon arrival at Madras, and even then were to be kept secret. These directed that, in the event of the rebels standing out for terms, they might be guaranteed an indemnity for their past actions and ' freedome in disposing of themselves for the future ' ; in fact, the commissioners were left ' to make the best termes you can for us ', rather than to resort to force. Should the Dutch be found to be in possession of the place, and the delivery had been made after 10 May, 1667, a demand should be made upon them for its immediate surrender ; and in the event of refusal a formal protest was to be recorded. If, however, the surrender had taken place before the said date,[1] the fleet was to proceed to Masulipatam at once. Should the Fort be held by the Dutch, an attempt should be made to secure as many as possible of the rebels, and bring them prisoners to England.

A commission from King Charles, dated 31 January, authorizing the commissioners to employ force in the reduction of Fort St. George, was likewise delivered to them.

By these ships a letter was sent, dated 24 January, 1668, and addressed to ' Our Agent, Governor, and Counsell in Fort St.George '. This explained the measures taken to secure the surrender of the settlement, and directed that, once this was effected, the *Blackamoor*, *Loyal Merchant*, *Unicorn*, and *Rainbow* were to be sent to Bengal ; while the *Madras Merchant* was to be laden with saltpetre, calicoes, and treasure, and then dispatched to Jambi. To reinforce the staff on the spot, the following persons were being sent out : (1) As factors, Matthew Mainwaring, Richard Smithson, Joseph Hall, Thomas Moore, and Timothy Wilks, all at 35*l.* per annum ; John Bridger, at 40*l.* ; William Bagnall, at 25*l.* ; Valentine Nurse and Francis Marshall, each at 30*l.* ; and Francis Langston, Thomas Jones, James Walcot, Samuel Bullivant, John Smith, and Henry Arnold, each at

[1] In that case the Dutch would have been entitled to retain Madras under the terms of the Treaty of Breda (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 278).

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20*l.*; (2) as writers (at 10*l.*), Richard Edwards, Francis Turner, John Vickers, Nathaniel Fitch, George Peacock, Matthew Launce, John Billingsly, and Roger Freeman; (3) as apprentices, John Nicks, William Probart, John Davis, and John Thomas. These last were to be allowed 5*l.* each per annum for clothes, and care was to be taken for 'their good education and usage'. Roger Brodnax, who was already on the coast, was made a factor at 35*l.* per annum; and he, with four others of the new factors, was appointed to the Council, to rank after the existing members in the following order: Mainwaring, Brodnax, Smithson, Bridger, and Hall. Two ministers were also of the company, viz. William Thomson, to reside at Madras, and Walter Hook,[1] whose post was to be Masulipatam. Should the former settlement not be reduced, Hook was to be sent to Bengal. Each of them was to have 50*l.* per annum (from the date of embarkation), with a gratuity of like amount to be paid in England. 'Those factors whoe have brought over their wives' were to be stationed on the Coast; any others might be allotted to Bengal, at the discretion of the Council. The goods sent in the fleet were next detailed.[2] These consisted of broadcloth (5,055*l.*), lead (3,463*l.*), quicksilver (2,136*l.*), tin (2,800*l.*), vermilion (1,421*l.*), copper (1,236*l.*), alum (453*l.*), brimstone (243*l.*), sword-blades (87*l.*), gold and silver lace (46*l.*), sundries (241*l.*),: total, 17,182*l.* In addition, the treasure sent totalled 59,017*l.*, consisting of rials of eight (16,000*l.*), silver ingots (17,137*l.*), gold bullion and coins[3] (25,880*l.*). The grand total of treasure and merchandise was 76,199*l.* As was done in the case of Surat, sets of printed rules for the behaviour of the Company's servants were forwarded and their observance was enjoined. Regulations for private trade (which was to be duly registered) were also sent. A promise was made that a good stock would be supplied the following year to maintain the trade, and investments were to be put in hand accordingly. Should the attempt to reduce Madras fail, the Chief and Council at Masulipatam were to make all necessary arrangements for return cargoes, and for the dispatch of the *Madras Merchant* to Jambi and Bantam.

[1] For his previous career see Penny's *Church in Madras*, vol. i. p. 663.

[2] For full invoices of the respective cargoes see pp. 77, 85–104 of *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 15. The one for the *Loyal Merchant* included books for the library of Fort St. George, to the value of 25*l.* 18*s.*, besides seven volumes of Luther's works (10*l.*), presented by Mr. Boulter.

[3] Ducats, pistolets, and sovereigns, all reckoned at 82*s.* per ounce.

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The latter was not to remain to blockade Madras beyond 1 November; but thereafter the *Diligence* and any local vessels available might be used for that purpose. Jearsey and others were praised for their past endeavours to recover Fort St. George, and their seizure of Winter's ship and other effects was approved. Their negotiations with the King of Golconda for a monopoly of saltpetre were considered to be unwise, and a hope was expressed that they had been abandoned.

'It is the desire of some of our drapers that wee would write unto you for a sort of callicoes to bee made, full one English ell in breadths and 30 ells in length, to bee made much stronger and somewhat finer then our ordinary sort of long cloth. This is intended to bee used for sheeting, each paire 10 ells; so that you must cause them to bee made either 20, 30, or 40 ells, that they may bee fitt for the intended service without any wast. Of this sort, as soone as possibly procureable, send us 2,000 peeces, one halfe white and the other browne [i. e. unbleached].

Twenty 'lusty blacks' were to be sent to Bantam in the *Madras Merchant*, for servants to the factors there. Permission was given to borrow up to 10,000*l.*, either at Madras or Masulipatam, from any persons willing to accept bills on the Company at 5*s.* the 'doller' (i. e. rial of eight). Peter Proby and George Toriano had interceded on behalf of their brother, Charles Proby; if he should prove instrumental in securing the surrender of the Fort, then the Agent and Council might give him such encouragement as he should be found to deserve. A rumour had reached the Company, by way of Surat, that Winter was negotiating with the Dutch for the surrender of Madras to them; instructions had consequently been given to the commanders that, if they found the Dutch in possession and the surrender had been made after 10 May, 1667, they should demand its retrocession, in accordance with the recent treaty, protesting in due form should the demand be refused; if, however, the surrender had taken place before that date, 'it will require your care and dilligence (if it may probably thereby bee effected) to endeavour the recovery thereof by the authority of the King of Gulcondah.' The soldiers sent to assist in the reduction of Fort St. George should be dispatched to Bombay in the event of the recovery of the fortress proving hopeless. Attested statements should be furnished of the amounts given by Winter to his associates for their assistance 'in

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the betraying of the Fort '. The Masulipatam factors were accused of not making a proportional return for the stock sent out, and were warned to be more careful in future. Should the Fort not be recovered, a larger investment must be made in Bengal in order to provide the necessary cargoes. William Broadbent, a soldier at Masulipatam, had petitioned for employment in a better capacity; a report upon his abilities and behaviour should therefore be sent home.

Wee earnestly desire you to endeavour the redemption of those English which are in captivity in Zeloane,[1] by using the most probable meanes to atteyne thereunto; to the furtherance whereof wee have sent you on these ships six lustie mastives, which will bee acceptable to the King. . . . If that the Fort should have falne into the hands of the Dutch before the 10th May, and that by all the meanes that you can use it will not bee recovered into our handes, wee are informed that St. Thomae is a good place for the procuring of callicoes, a comodious towne, and good landing, and that it may bee obteined of the King of Gulcondah upon easy termes. If so, then wee desire you to agree with him for it, with such priviledges as wee had at Fort St. George (so that the somme exceed not in presents and charges five thowsand pagothees). And if you can prevaile for it, then to settle yourselves there and to gather togither what English you shall have, for the strengthning of the place, and there to make your cheife residence and to settle the trade for callicoes there, it being our cheife end for which wee desire it. But in case this towne bee not obteyneable, wee doe understand that there are many places betweene Mesulapatan and Porto Nova where callicoes may bee procureable in very great quantities. Wee would therefore have you well to consider what place may bee likely to answere our end, both in provision of callicoes and convenience for landing; and at such place to settle a factory. And if wee find that it proves answearable to our desires, wee shall then give further directions to make adresses to the King to have it under our government and to procure such further priviledges as shalbe necessary.

Endeavours should be made to procure a supply of pepper from Kāyal. Increased quantities of ' bettellees ' (20 and 25 yards long) and of white gingham were ordered. A report upon Francis Nelthrop was called for; in the meantime he was to be continued

[1] See the 1655–60 volume, p. 395, and the two succeeding volumes.

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in his position. A letter was to be sent to the Queen of Achin, assuring her that some shipping would be dispatched to her port the following year, with 'some person to make adresses to Her Majestie'. At the request of his brother, Nathaniel Chumley was to be allowed to reside at Golconda, trading there in diamonds and jewels, and also to travel from place to place, but not to engage in any other trade nor to do anything prejudicial to the Company. The notification formerly made, that the Company would not be responsible for any private debts, should again be published at all factories. In accordance with the award of the arbitrators in the dispute with Sir Thomas Chamber, the latter had assigned to the Company various debts and adventures outstanding in India; these should be collected. Chamber had alleged that Jearsey had received for his account 4,000 pagodas from Blake and 1,000 from Bridges; these amounts should be recovered from Jearsey, with interest, and placed to the Company's account. The factors who had been allowed to take out their wives were to receive half their salaries in India; and the same concession had been made to those sent out as writers. An indenture and bond were forwarded for Roger Brodnax to sign. Permission had been given to Humphrey Graves to send out in the fleet some cases of strong waters; the proceeds were to be returned in diamonds or else paid into the Company's cash in exchange for bills at 5*s.* 6*d.* per dollar. Information had been received that there were considerable quantities of treasure and prohibited goods being carried out in the fleet; these should be searched for, the prescribed fines inflicted, and the names of the guilty parties sent home. Two bales of piece-goods from Masulipatam had been found short of the invoiced numbers, some pieces of wood having been inserted in each case. The deficiencies had been charged to Jearsey's account, and the same course would be followed in future instances of the kind. Five pipes of Canary wine had been sent for the use of the factors.

A brief supplementary letter of 7 February ordered that steps should be taken to collect the estate of the late William Daniel.

The fears that either the Dutch would be found in possession of Madras, or the rebels would make a desperate and successful resistance, proved fortunately to be groundless. The *Loyal Merchant* and *Rainbow*, having outsailed their consorts, anchored at Fort St. George on 20 August. Such of the commissioners as were

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available landed the following day, showed their commission, and demanded the surrender of the place. Winter refused at first; but on the 22nd he came to terms and yielded possession. The report made by Foxcroft and his Council to the Company (6 Oct. 1668) was as follows:

The 21th of August some of those commistioners out of those two ships came on shoar, read their commistion, and demanded the surrender of the Fort, which was denighed them. But the next day, being the 22th, the captaines and some other of the commistioners came ashore and had the Fort surrenderd into their possestion by Sir Edward Winter etc., upon an ingagement the commistioners past to Sir Edward [in] these words: We hereby engage that you and all your adherents shall have free liberty to remaine in Madraspatan, or else to transport yourselves, families, and estates to any other part of India or Europe, without molestation of any. The commistioners spake not at all with us untill they had past the said engagement and had the Fort deliverd up into their possestion; which being done, all persons being turned out of the Fort excepting ourselves, who were kept prisoners under lock and keay untill this was done. All others then being turned out, they then opened our prison dores, set us at lyberty, and delivered the possession of the Fort into our hands. Wee shall not insist upon the largeness of the engagement they made, [which?], though in few words, yet extends farr; but inasmuch as we doe hope and beleve that the commistioners intended it for the best and [most?] compendious way for regaineing of your Fort without bloodshed (which was allways the desire of us your servants their prisoners), and haveing (as they said) suffitient authoritie to make what termes they pleased with Sir Edward, we shall not dispute or question; only we shall observe that, if the letter of it be strictly observed, it will be at the libertie of Sir Edward whether he will ever goe into England (according to His Majesties command), since he may, by the tennor thereof, remove and transport himself and his estate into any part of India or Europe; which, as it hath alreadie begot troble to us and prejudice to you, soe it is likely to doe more.

This meagre account is fortunately amplified by that given in a letter addressed to the Company on 8 December from Masulipatam by Joseph Hall, one of the newly arrived factors and a member of the Commission appointed to deal with the rebels. This is as follows:

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Haveing by Gods blessing one the 20th instant [at] night arived nere Forte St. George one the Coast of Choromondell in the ship *Raineboe* and in company with the ship *Loyall Marchant*, did both one the 21th morneing in August last past weaigh anchor and come very neere the roade ; there being no other of our consorts arived. And the *Raineboe* being headmos[t] ship, theire came of from the Forte aboard said ship Mr. Charles Probie and Mr. Edward Locke, the former Second to Sir Edward Winter and the latter a Grand Councellour. Intimated the same to Capt. Goodlad, desireing him to secure them tell wee went aboard the *Loyall Marchant* ; which was immediately donn. Mr. Manwaring and our captain and myself goeing aboard the *Loyal Marchant*, Capt. Risbe, whoe was then under saile standing into the roade, but after our coming aboard tacked and stood of, comin[g] to an anchor more a distance from the roade and Forte then our ship. And then a consultation being called about the persons wee had secured aboard the *Raineboe*, by reason of Sir Edward Winters being in possession of the Forte, as also youre letter broke open for our instruction and direction at our arival before Forte St. George ; and after dew consideration had thereunto, and for the better obtaineing and reduceing said Forte, it was thought good to detaine aboard the [ship ?] both the beforementioned persons and to send for them to be brought aboard the *Loyall Marchant* ; which was according[ly] performed, and then and their did shew unto Mr. Probie and Mr. Locke His Magisties commission. Mr. Probie did yeald all reddie obediance theireunto, further saing that, although it ware to his rueing, hee would yeald obediance to His Magisties commission. Whereuppon wee desired his letter to Sir Edward Winter, to signifie hee had read the same and complied theirewith one his parte, and that Sir Edward ought to doe the same by his reddie compliance and surrender of the Forte, in obedience to His Magisties commands. After said letter was writt by Mr. Probie and all things considered, wee forthwith, in persuance of His Magisties instructions, I say commission, and the Companies as afforesaid, did send ashoare His Magisties comission, enordring the same to be read before the said Sir Edward Winter and all others within the Forte, as also Mr. Probies letter sent to Sir Edward Winter. After they had donn readeing, Sir Edward did seemeingly well receave said commission, as by his sending a letter aboard the same day, being the 21th, desireing som person mentioned in said commission to come ashoare and reseave possestion of the Forte. Upon sight of said letter wee called a consultation, and theire it was ordred that Mr. John Bridger, Mr. Mathew Manwaring, and Joseph Hall should goe

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ashoare to receave possession of the Forte, notwithstanding the advise wee had reseaved by the Agents Foxcrofts servant and the seccretarie that Sir Edward would make prissioners of us (as you will find by some of the inclosed papers which heere inclosed send), together with advise of both the captains, declareing they would not stay above 2 or 3 dayse, which made us the more willing to hassard our libertie, least wee might relapse said time and the captaines proceed for the Bay, by reason of the latenes in the yeare, which they said was the reason they would not stay any longer; whereupon wee went that night, and got ashoare aboute 2 houres after candlelight. Att our landing [wee] weare conducted up to Sir Edwards house, wheare Sir Edward and one Mr. Smithes mett us in the inward yard or courte; wheare after salutation wee tould him wee weare come ashoare, en order to his letter, to take possession of the Forte by his surrender in compliance with His Magisties commission; to which hee returned noe answer, onlie askeing whether wee had brought Mr. Probie ashoare with us; to which I answered hee remained aboard with Mr. Locke. Imediately spakes Smithes the minister, saiing: Sir Edward, doe not discourse heere, but lett us goe upstaires first. After which, Mr. Smithes did desire, soe soone as wee came up, the sight of the Kings commission; which after a litle lookeing over, [wee] found hee did not like it, as by his makeing many quarreling exseptions against it, and further saing that commission had never come or binn granted, if Sir Edwards letter and charge against Mr. Foxcroft had come to the Kings notice. Uppon which, after answering him, [wee] desired his compliance with the Kings commission in surrender of the Forte, together with all theireto belongin[g] and the Companies treasure and merchandise; in answer to which Sir Edward and the prest said it was to [late] that night and that in the morneing it should be donn soe soone as wee would. In the intrim we desired to see Agent Foxcroft and have him released out of prisson. Sir Edward and the prest would not condesend to nether by noe perswations, deferring all to the morning and then, if wee sent for Mr. Probie ashoare, it should be donn; but without Mr. Probie, saith the prest, they could not deliver the Forte, because it was delivered Sir Edward by Mr. Proby, therefore Sir Edward must deliver it up to him againe and both joyne in the surrendering and deliverring it up to us; as also assarting that Mr. Probie had possestion of all the goods and that he must bring the keayes theireof and deliver them at the same time. To all which wee answred: seeing he would not deliver the Fort that night, wee would goe aboard. But coming downe to the seaside, wee found it

so darke and the surfe and seas soe much increased that no boate would carrie us of; for which cause we returned againe to Sir Edwards house and lay there that night, he putting a gard of armed men in the roome we lay. The following morneing, being the 22th of August, about 6 in the morning wee demanded possestion of the Forte, and soe continuing with our demands and answerring the objections of Sir Edward and Mr. Smithes the prest tell aboute 7 aclocke; there cheefe objection being that, in case they delivered the Forte, they might be imprisoned and there estates seased on, and without an assurance to the contrary they would never surrender the Forte; also that they would have Mr. Probie come ashoare first. Our answer was that there persons should be free without any mollestation to remaine there, or to transporte themselves for Urupe [Europe] without any let or mollestation; to which Smithes replied that, unles they had an assurance of there estates as well as there parsons, and Mr. Probies coming first asshoare, it should not be delivered; which Sir Edward confermed. And thus we parted, goeing downe to the seaside to goe aboard. But our first attempte proved not succesfull, being driven to and againe by great sease and surfes comeing over the boate, soe that the boate was forsed backe againe ashoare before we could gitt aboard. But considering time was pretious, and the captaines resolution, as also that it might be daingerous the givin[g] Sir Edward any long time of debate and consultation with his adherance and that trecherous pestifferous villian Leftenant Cheesman, put of to sea againe in another boate well maned, and a cattamaran before us to take us up in case the boate overset. This way proved efectual to the accomplishment of our desire in gitting aboard the *Loyall Marchant* by Gods assistance; and there calling a consultation, which did hould it to be verie pernitious to the buissines in hand any delay or deferring; as also, being noe more ships, the unlikenes of doeing anything per forse of armes, and the latenes of the yeare, and the captaines confermeing there resolution to stay no longer then the prefixed time beforesaid, we weare constrained to joyne with them and put in execution our resolutions in sending ashoare an ingagement under all the commissioners hands and seales to Sir Edward Winter for the freedom of there parsons and estates, being there one [i. e. own] proper estates, with liberty to reside there or to transporte themselves for Urupe without let or mollestation. This paper being sent, with a second letter from Mr. Probie, together with several letters of his from England by our ships, wherein Sir Edward might sattisfie himselfe that all his letters to England came to hand, as also his charge of treasonable

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words pretended against Mr. Foxcroft and his sonn sent to His Magistie; also sent Mr. Locke to acompany them, finding him cleerely convinced, and to whome Sir Edward and Smithes did much adheere. Also then sent, in case of noncompleance, our declaration to be read in publike to declare him and his adherance trators and rebels to His Magistie. Said Locke went upon his perroule to returne; also, haveing good security for him by a vessell in the roade of his and the master being our prissoner, [wee] had the more confidence in his fidillitie and indeavers with Sir Edward and his adheerance; whoe, after 2 houres consideration and consulting Mr. Probies letters from England, finding all his contrivances and ploting noe wayes takeing the efect he amed at in England, and Locke workeing verie efectually with Sir Edward and the padre, did at last prevaile with him and returned aboard the same day with a letter from Sir Edward that soe soone as three of the commissioners came ashoare, hee would surrender the Forte; which he performed and did that night, with all the formallities ussallie. After the surrender, the soldgers being turned all out and the gates all locked, the commissioners opned the prissons, letten[g] Mr. Foxcroft out and deliverring unto him the keayes of the Forte. That night Agent Foxcroft called 20 soldgers into the Forte for a present gard. And the following morneing, being the 23, the soldgers of both ships went ashoare and, with what other men he made choyce of, made up his coplement for settleing and keeping said Forte and outworkes.

Mention must also be made of an account of the surrender given in the Bombay letter to the Company of 15 January, 1669. This information, however, was derived from 'two French jewellers that are come from Golcondah', and contained some apocryphal details, such as that the Fort fired upon the ships and forced them to retreat, though Winter afterwards excused this as due to the fault of the gunners. It added that the declaration against Winter was read publicly in the Fort, 'at which Sir Edward Winter with great impatience runn raving up and downe the Fort, using wild expressions', but, finding no support, at last came to terms and 'marched out in great state, carrying with him considerable riches'.

Some eight days after the surrender of the Fort, Niclaes and Nelthrop arrived from Masulipatam, bringing copies of the royal declaration and other papers which had reached the factors there by a Dutch ship from Persia. They came, of course, too late to be of any service.

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Foxcroft, after holding a public thanksgiving for his deliverance, set to work with commendable energy. His Council, as reconstituted, seems to have consisted at the outset of Jeremy Sambrook, Nathaniel Foxcroft, Mainwaring, Smithson, Bridger, Hall, and Edward Herries; but its composition was soon changed. Since the season was already far advanced, it was resolved to send the two ships to Masulipatam at once, without waiting for the arrival of the rest of the fleet; and on 4 September they sailed accordingly, carrying a letter dated the 3rd to the Masulipatam factors, in which the Agent and Council briefly narrated the course of events and referred their correspondents to the Company's letters for the steps to be taken regarding return cargoes and other matters. Both vessels were to proceed without delay to Bengal. Mainwaring and Bridger were being sent to join the staff at Masulipatam; also Francis Turner (one of the newly arrived writers) and the Rev. Walter Hook. Regarding the last named the letter said:

The Company, before his comeing out of England, was acquainted that he could not conforme to the Common Prayers; nevertheless they have sent both him to you and Mr. William Thomson to us, who is of the same mind. And seeing the Company, notwithstanding their knowledg therof, have sent them, in this place we doe not enjoyne anything upon them, but without imposeing leave them to their own lyberty, but are very glad to partake of their pious and profitable labors in reading and expounding the Scriptures and preaching; in all which they imploy themselves with much diligence, pietie, and sobriety, and we hope will prove a great blesseing to us and our people.

The *Blackamoor* and the *Madras Merchant* reached Madras on 8 September, and the *Unicorn* arrived three days later.[1] All three vessels were sent on to Masulipatam, with letters dated 14 and 17 September. These said that neither slaves for Bantam nor the desired sheeting for England could be procured at Madras; so the Masulipatam factors were asked to do what they could to arrange for a supply. Of the new arrivals by these ships, Arnold, Freeman, and Moore were to be left at Masulipatam; while Jones, Bullivant, Edwards, Vickers, Fitch, and Peacock were to go on to Bengal.

[1] Capt. Harman's journal of the voyage of the *Unicorn* is now in the British Museum (*Harleian MS.* 4252). It gives the burden of that vessel as 330 tons, and states that she carried thirty guns. All three ships had called at Mauritius on the way, and spent a week there.

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Nelthrop was sent back to his post. The *Madras Merchant*, in accordance with the Company's orders, was to be dispatched to Jambi, and the other two to Bengal.

On 6 October, Foxcroft and his Council wrote to the Company, sending the letter via Masulipatam. The account given therein of the recovery of the Fort has already been quoted, and the details of the arrival of the various ships and their dispatch northwards require no further notice. A suggestion was made that, had the royal declaration entrusted to Clavell arrived before the fleet did, Winter would have yielded the Fort (being '.soe pinced for want of monies') without 'that ample engagement' which the commissioners granted him. Winter's intrigues with Henry Gary (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 323) were dwelt upon, and the latter was roundly denounced. Difficulty was being experienced in providing return cargoes for the ships.

The great and universal joy that was among the inhabitants and merchants in this place, and all others in this country farr and neare, gave us at first pregnant hopes, upon the iterated and serious promises of the merchants to shew all forwardness in provideing and bringing in cloath, that we should have bene fully furnished for the investment of that part of your stock now sent out we have reserved in this place; but we find as yet so little fruite that our expectations are dashed. For we now find that dureing these three yeares disorder the people have wholy forborn the makeing of such usuall sorts of cloath fit for England, haveing no vent for them, and only applyed themselves to make such sorts as are fit for the use of this country. Soe that there will not be found, we feare, any quanteties in readiness, and very few can be weaved and made ready for the ships. . . . Besides, if there should be found in the countreys hereabouts more or greater quanteties then we are informed, they are scattered about in small townes and families, and must with much paines be gleaned; and our people here are soe much impoverished, for want of trade these yeares past of disorder, that they have not (or pretend at least not to have) money beforehand to buy them; and without money they cannot gett them. And such is theire condition that we scarse know with safetie how to trust very far men with 100 pagothas beforehand; though we feare we must of force adventure to doe it. For these causes we cannot as yet come to any agreement with the merchants for any certaine price for what goods may be provided; and besides, they will not be fully voyd nor freed from feares of Sir Edward, but that

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he may return to his rule and tyranny, till they shall see him embarked and cleare of their coast, and for that cause dare not adventure to put out themselves to the utmost extent of their abillities.

Nathaniel Foxcroft and Edward Herries had been promoted to the Council, with salaries of 40*l.* each, and John Crandon's pay had been increased to 30*l.* Sanction was confidently anticipated, and a hope was expressed that these small favours would not be regarded as lessening their claims to share in any compensation the Company might see fit to grant to those who had suffered in the late troubles. Mainwaring, Bridger, and Hall had objected to Nathaniel Foxcroft and Herries being put over their heads; but the Agent was persuaded that the Company could not have intended that the newcomers should have precedence of such old servants. The same three gentlemen had also shown themselves so 'tender in regard of theire ingagement to Sir Edward' that they would not agree to a proposal to take possession of the goods which Winter had taken out of the Company's warehouses or any others to which he laid claim.

The rent behindhand for the half customs of this place [1] hath bene demanded, and that an avaldore [*havildār*] or governour be admitted to look after the half customs; in pursueance whereof Hasson Caun sent a Bramini for that purpose. But upon my answere, and a letter I writ to the Nabob, wherto he returned a kind answere and sent to me letters inclosed for Hasson Caun and the Governour of St. Thome to shew all respect and to assist in anything we should desire of him, Hassan Caun sent for his Bramini back from hence, which departed accordingly. Chinapella Mizza,[2] who hath the command of the souldiars in this country, sent a letter requireing also that an avaldore mite reside here, and complained that we landed our goods out of the ships without their leave, and threatened, upon not admitting an avaldore for the Divan, he would besige the Fort and stopp all provisions. I have acquainted the Nabob herewith, and desired he would lay his commands on him as he did upon those beforenamed, and that he forbare giveing us any disturbance or threatening therof: that,

[1] See the 1665–7 volume, p. 119, and Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 265.

[2] The incongruity of a Hindu (Chennupalli ?) bearing a Muhammadan title has led to the suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 265) that this individual was a Musalman and that his name was really Janāb Ali; but our scanty knowledge of the customs of the Golconda kingdom scarcely warrants the assumption that the former alternative is out of the question.

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for the rent behind, after the rate of 380 pagodas[1] per annum, if he pleased to write for how long time he requires, I would returne him shuch answere as should be just. We give but a breif touch of these things that are now in agitation, by which you will perceive it will be nessesary to come to some issue about the half customes; for he hath not, nor will (I doubt), owne that agrement of 380 pagodas per annum, and we find yet nothing from him to obleige him to it. I writ him that I hope he will not urge me to any manner of innovation, which I cannot agree to without the consent of the Honourable Company, by whome I am intrusted in the goverment of this place. I hope to receive all faire quarter from him; but his rent must be paid, and a confermation of the former agrement or a new one made.

The covering letter to Masulipatam of the same date expressed an earnest hope that Jearsey would visit Madras as soon as his health and affairs would permit. The generous treatment accorded to Winter and his adherents was declared to have emboldened them and to have placed the Council in a difficulty how to reconcile the keeping of that pledge with the maintenance of the Company's interests. As for Winter himself,

we extend our power as farr as we finde it justifyable, and have cutt him short of his traine of attendance and other lyberties he would have taken; which, though it be greevious to him, he bares it with a strict observation to catch at anything that may be drawn to an objection against us as an hindrance to his preparations for goeing for England (which, wee beleive, is not in his intent to doe willingly), and to brand us, if possibly he can, with a negligence and sliteing His Majesties indulgence to him. And though we may keepe ourselves free from the guilt therof, yet not from their accusations, walke we never so cercumspectly, yea and gently also, in these affaires.

On 19 October a fresh letter was sent to Masulipatam, in answer to one received from that place. It was mentioned that Bridger's wife had died that morning. The relading of the ships was discussed, and the necessity of their early dispatch from Masulipatam was insisted upon. Jearsey's decision to keep the accounts of that place in new pagodas for the future was approved. Foxcroft, for his part, intended to start his accounts from the date of his restoration to his

[1] P^{a} in the original. Throughout the volume such contractions have been extended, as in the text.

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post, leaving Winter to settle with the Company regarding his monetary transactions during his usurpation. It was also intended to propose to the Company that in future the Madras, Masulipatam, and Bengal accounts should be kept distinct. Winter had gone to Pulicat, where he would find his vessel which had been repaired at Porto Novo by Dimsdale, who was now in charge of her. Winter's further movements were uncertain.

Haveing found no substance but trifeling in the inhabitants and merchants in this towne, and Tymana and Verina [1] haveing offered to submitt themselves and crave favour, we have thought it a point of wisdome, in respect of the maine business of investment, for the present to wave any former matters and to encourage them to come in, to accept of their service, and deale kindely with them. And accordingly they are come to this towne, and promiseth all their utmost endeavours, and have already writt their letters rownd about the country to hasten the bringing in of cloath; and we hope they will be reall and effective therein, being now under our power to call them to accompt, both for new and old, if they falter and deale defectively; which we beleive they will not, but rather strive to make it a foundation of future credite.

After discussing the matter in dispute between Jearsey and Sir Thomas Chamber, the Agent and Council turned to another topic mentioned in the letter from Masulipatam.

It will by all meanes be needfull that you endeavour to obviate the damage that accrewes by the inhaunsing of the valew of old pagothes soe much above their intrinsick value; for it cannot be expected but this people (who are noe fooles in matters that consernes their advantage) will endeavour by all their bargaines to make good that loss which they doe sustaine by being forced to make all their payments to their King in old pagothes, or the value set upon them.[2] Therefore you take a good resolution to endeavour to reduce it, by makeing all your contracts to be paid in new pagothes or rupees, which are of a known value.

Among other matters of detail discussed was that of raising money by means of bills drawn on the Company, in accordance with the permission given by the latter. Nobody at Masulipatam or at

[1] Beri Timmanna and Kāsi Viranna (see the 1661–4 volume, pp. 58, 166). The former died early in September 1669 (see a letter from him, 'upon his death bed', in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. 26, p. 14).

[2] See the 1665–7 volume, p. 327.

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Madras would offer cash on those terms; and Foxcroft wondered that his employers should have thought such a course feasible. He did not know that a transaction of this kind had been carried out in Bengal (see the 1665–7 volume, pp. 137, 139), a Dutchman taking advantage of this method to remit his money secretly to Europe.

The late arrival of the ships from England had already had one unfortunate effect in forcing the commissioners to come to a hasty compromise with Winter and his adherents; and it now produced another. All four ships failed to reach the Bay of Bengal, and were obliged to return to Masulipatam. Hall, who was on board the *Rainbow*, was inclined to blame the captains, who, in the case of that vessel and the *Loyal Merchant*, had already delayed matters by overshooting their port in their voyage from Madras to Masulipatam, with the result that the latter place was not reached until 13 September, and then 'land fluds' delayed their departure for four days more. Hall's further account (letter of 8 December) is as follows:

From the 17 day aforesaid we weare beateing of it tell the 4 of October, and could not git up in sight of Corango Bay. However, noe longer patiance Capt. Risbe and our captain had, although [they] had incurredgment to stay, by the currant slackning and abateing verie much, soe that, from our first anchoring theire to our weaighing to returne, there was 3 knotts defference, goeing little currant then against us; but I [am] informed our scantines of watter and the like of fresh provitions was the occation of bringin[g] of us backe sooner then willingly they would have donn.

The *Blackamoor* had overtaken them before the decision to abandon the voyage was reached. She was much undermanned, having lost seventeen of her crew on the way out and having many of the remaining men on the sick list; her captain therefore willingly concurred in the proposal to return to Masulipatam. On the way back the *Unicorn* was met. Her captain was inclined to persevere in the attempt to reach Bengal, but the other commanders talked him over and he joined company with them. Hall, who was anxious to reach his post in the Bay, was much annoyed by the readiness with which the captains had given up the attempt and the indifference displayed by Jearsey and his colleagues.

Att our returne to Metchlapatam I did expect there would have binn a protest made against them for returneing soe soone . . .

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but at my coming ashoare I found noe mention theireof, nor approbation to my propotiall thereof. Then I did desire a councell might be called ; which was refused, and soe hath binn ever sence I came backe and before, haveing binn much discountenanced for my forwardnes heerein, and no notice at all taken of the first 10 dayes loss nor the last willfull neglect.

Hall concluded by saying that, unless the Company would back up those of their servants who tried to do their duty, their orders would never be carried out, 'the brechers are soe many and powerfull'.

The news of the failure was duly communicated to Madras, and on 27 October Foxcroft and his colleagues replied :

The 23th present wee received yours of 15th, adviseing of the return of all the four ships which were bound for the Bay, not being able to gaine their passage ; and that in consideration thereof [you had] thought fitt that those two ships *Loyall Marchant* and *Rainbow* should be dispatched from the Coast, and the other two ships to proceed for the Bay so soon as the season will permitt ; and that for the accomplishing hereof you have ordered our friends in the Bay by the first oppertunity to lade at the least 800 tons of saltpeeter in juncks, with what other goods they have in readiness, and send them hither for those ships.

These measures were approved. As the two ships that were to proceed to Bengal could not be back until the latter end of February, the main part of their return cargoes must be provided at the Coast or at Madras ; but fortunately the cloth investment at the latter place was proceeding satisfactorily. To pay for the increased quantities necessary, bills had been drawn upon Masulipatam for part of the money transmitted thither. A postscript added the news that

The *Diligence* is now arrived in this roade. The 18th she anchord neare Pullichery [Pondicherri]. Mr. Hutchison [Hutchins] sent his sonn to give notice thereof ; whome we returned with orders to carry the ship to Porta Nova. But he weighed anchor the next morning, and hath ever since been beateing it up heather. But we intend to send her to Porta Nova, as a more secure place to stay in ; from whence she is also to bring some cloath and wood.

Hutchins, however, declined to go to Porto Novo, fearing lest he should be murdered there by Winter's emissaries, in revenge for the evidence he had given in England against Sir Edward. Consequently, in a letter dated 5 November, the Agent and Council

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notified that William Walters had been appointed to the command of the *Diligence* in his place. Walters' instructions, of the same date, directed him to take the vessel to Porto Novo (calling on the way at Pondicherri) and return, as soon as the season would permit, with the goods that were being provided there.

We have seen that the Company had ordered that a further effort should be made to recover the Englishmen who had been so long captives in Ceylon. On 16 October came to hand a letter from one of them, William Vassall, dated 29 February and addressed to Winter. Of this no copy is extant; but we have a transcript of the reply which was sent on 4 November by Foxcroft and his Council, accompanied by a letter for Vassall from his brother, which Foxcroft had brought out from England. These documents were entrusted to the same person who had delivered the letter from Vassall. After a long account of Winter's rebellion and the recovery of the Fort, Foxcroft went on to mention the instructions he had received from the Company and the present of dogs which they had sent for the King of Kandy as a means of obtaining the release of the prisoners. Some of the mastiffs were dead, and nobody could be found who would undertake to carry them and a letter to the King; so further advice on the point would be awaited from Vassall. Should the dogs arrive safely, and

> if any occation be to exhaust [i. e. enhance] the valorand valew of English mastifes, this story (which is a true one) may be made use of. In anno 1664 a mastife dog sezed upon a gallant horse of a noblemans (the Earle of Bridgwater) and killed him. To prevent the like in future, this dog was appointed to be sent to the Tower to be torne by one of the lyons; which comeing open mouth to him, the dog sezed on the lyons toung and never gave over his hold till the lyon dyed; for which fact he is reserved as a monument, and not to fight with any other beasts after he had overcome the kinge of beasts.

Since Vassall had given a warning that his messenger could not safely be trusted with any money, none had been sent; but a promise had been given to that person that, if he could secure the escape of any of the prisoners, a reward of 40 pagodas per head should be paid to him. Vassall was further told that, if a safe conduct could be obtained from the King, an endeavour would be

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made to send some person to him, ' although we doubt it will be very difficult to find any that will trust to any assurance that shall be given'. For the present they could only wait ' untill God open some other way to us, which yet we see not '. An account was given of the hostilities with the Dutch and of the conclusion of peace ; also of the ravages of the plague in London, and of the subsequent fire.[1]

On 12 November a packet was sent to Surat via Masulipatam containing a letter for the Company, with covering letters to those two factories. In the one intended for London, Foxcroft and his colleagues advised the failure of the four ships to reach Bengal and the measures taken to lade two of them from the Coast instead. Hutchins's desertion of his vessel was next narrated. The investments at Madras in piece-goods had proved so favourable that the factors did not doubt to be able to use all the capital in their hands. While on this topic, the opportunity was taken to point out that, since ' heere is nothing at all to be had but callicoes ', unless some indulgence was extended to the factors as regards private trade in that article, they would be worse off than their fellow-servants in any of the other factories on the Coast. The re-employment as brokers of Timmanna and Viranna (who had fled on the arrival of the ships) was then mentioned, and it was declared that the results had fully justified the course taken. Weavers and washers who had migrated for want of work were daily returning to Madras, as well as others who had been expelled (and cruelly treated) by Winter. The accounts would show that the commodities from England had been sold at a considerable advance on former prices, while the calicoes had been bought at cheaper rates than before ; the reason in both cases being that the local merchants could afford to make closer prices now that ' heere is no Sir Edward nor any other that shall share any part of their proffits '. Moreover, the agreement with the two brokers gave them no exclusive rights of supply nor ' any government in the towne as formerly ' ; ' we have left a liberty to any others that will to buy and bring in cloth to us ', and had actually concluded a contract with some other merchants to that end. The charges made against the two brokers had not been forgotten ; but Foxcroft and his colleagues recorded their opinion that the real person responsible was Winter, who had forced the brokers

[1] The letter is printed (with a few omissions) in D. W. Ferguson's *Captain Robert Knox* (p. 16).

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to do whatever he wished. Moreover, they were still amenable to justice, if anything were proved against them; and they were so confident of fair treatment that they had avowed themselves ready to meet any charges; 'but none as yet appeares against them, nor any likelyhood of any such thing'. The accusations against them in the matter of A Court's death rested on no substantial foundation; while their payments to Winter appeared to have been either voluntary or else extorted by threats, and in either case these came out of their own pockets. Foxcroft hoped that the mildness with which he had dealt with Winter's accomplices would not be imputed to weakness on his part, but rather to a desire to smooth over matters in the interests of the Company. The investments made that season were so large that no stock would remain in hand for the provision of cargoes for the next fleet; in future a larger supply should be sent. No one could be found on the Coast willing to pay in money in return for bills of exchange, 'whatever may be done in the Bay'; nor was it possible to borrow at interest. A contract had been made for a supply of saltpetre, and the factors were in hopes that a considerable quantity would be procurable every year; but this must be contingent upon sufficient money being available for advances. Adverting to the dispute over the rent of Madras and the letter he had written to the 'Nabob' (Neknām Khān) on the subject, Foxcroft said:

Although I have not received an answer by letter, yet he hath given answer in effect, for he hath writt to Chenapellee Mirza; upon his receipt whereof he hath not only forborne his former threat, but hath writt a kind letter, wherein he offers kindness and his real assistance in anything wherein we stand in need of it. Your Agent endeavors with him and with all other governors (but more espetially with the Nabob, who commands and governs all) to hold a fair correspondence, and doe hope that by giving such fair and smooth words which will please him, he will give his consent to receive those arreares after the rate of 380 pagodas per annum; to which we can finde nothing by which he is oblieged; but [he?] hath bene informed that the half customes doe amount unto manyfold more, and for that cause hath suspended the receipt of that rent for so many yeares. But he hath bene written unto that this annual rent of 380 pagodas shalbe paid to whomsoever he shall authorise to receive the same and give a sufficient discharge; with which we hope he wilbe pleased; and being so received, and

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a discharge given, wilbe a confirmation of the agreement which hath bene pretended (though noe proof appeares),[1] and that for the future it shalbe punctually paid as it grows due.

The letter went on to represent the losses sustained by those who had remained faithful to the Company during Winter's rebellion. Besides their personal sufferings and the loss of opportunities owing to their imprisonment for three years, they had 'suffered in their estates by the spoyling and imbezeling of several of their goods'. In addition, Sambrook and Herries had sustained losses in 'their owne and other mens moneys'; for, in order to save their cash from falling into Winter's clutches, they had been forced to entrust it 'into the best hands they could', and the result was that a great part 'came short home'. They trusted that the Company would make good to them all actual losses and in addition grant such rewards as would make up for their suffering and 'the totall loss of the improvement of their stocks' during their imprisonment. For the present the factors had charged to the Company's account only the actual outlay on necessaries and patamars during that period, and also the money reimbursed to the French padres at San Thomé, for their outlay in transmitting correspondence to and from Masulipatam and in relieving refugees from Madras. As for Proby, his behaviour during the rebellion had been so bad that the Council decided to dismiss him from the service, though Foxcroft himself would have been willing to give him a further trial. The Company had called for proofs of the bribes given by Winter to his accomplices. As regards Chuseman, though possibly direct evidence would be found to be lacking, there could be no doubt as to the fact,

for it is a plaine case that he brought not over with him the value of 200*l.*, a good part whereof were in old Long Lane[2] blacke clokes, which in a piece of waggery one perswaded him to in jest, knowing them altogether improper for this country; but he tooke it in earnest and made his provision accordingly. Besides them he brought over nothing but a very few sword blades, some few ribbins

[1] This inability to produce the agreement (for which see the 1655–60 volume, pp. 174–6) is perhaps explained by a passage in the Company's letter of 7 December, 1669, in which it is stated that the 'cowle or agreement was delivered to Sir Edward Winter at his arriveall at Fort St. George; untill which time the said 380 pagodas was duely paid, comencing the 20th June, 1658'. Order was given that the document should be recovered from Winter, and that copies of all agreements and *farmāns* relating to Madras, Masulipatam, and Bengal should be sent home.

[2] See a note on p. 262 of the 1655–60 volume.

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of an inconsiderable value; and for gold, as none ever appeared, soe it is cleare he brought none. But since this rebellion he hath bene the only man flush of moneys, haveing, besides adventures he made and moneys let out upon correspondentia, store of moneys to buy cloth cheape (when there were no other buyers) in such quantities that his wife and hee kept constantly (if not yeares, yet many months together), to make petticotes, shirts, etc. for to send for England, above 30 taylers; and besides all this had a great stock of mony and set one a worke to have engrossed into his owne hands above 100 pipes of arack brought hether by Portingalls from Goa, and offered to give ready mony for the same; and besides had contrived to have put a considerable estate into Mr. Bronds hand, as trusting him as a person fitt to mannage it for his advantage and conceale it. By all which and other circumstances it appeares that he could not be so abundantly furnished in those particulars, and in richer garments then suiteable to his place (though not to his pride); as alsoe his wife was with variety of rich jewells, gold chaines, and change of apparrel far beyond her ranck; all which plenty could not be extracted out of a few Long Lane clokes, which (many, if not all of them) are like never to sell, but the memory of them remaine as a proverb upon him for giving credit to the waggery put upon him.

No information could be furnished concerning Broadbent's abilities, as the Council had had no experience of them; but his character might be inferred from the following account of him.

He came over in the *Constantinople Merchant* and so went dyrectly for Mechlepatan, and was there landed, and continued awhile, demanding a debt with Dymsdall, former gunner and Sir Edward Winters greatest confident. After a small tyme in farther prosecution thereof, he came to this place, encouraged (as he said) by large promises from him [i. e. Winter], and was accordingly entertayned into his house, and after a small time had a wife bestowed upon him that served in Sir Edwards house under his lady; whome he married and lived with in Sir Edwards house, and Sir Edward sent him upon a vessel of his he sent for Bombasin [Mombasa] with a cargo, which proved to be a very unprofitable voyage. He returned from thence and again lived in Sir Edwards house, where he had left during his absence this reputed wife (I will not say repudiated), which was bestowed upon him and married, although he had a wife then (and yet, for ought any knowes) living in England, and this Mr. Smithis knew and had

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information of before he married them. He continued with Sir Edward and this woman he had taken until the ships arrived; and soone after, having news by them that his wife was living, he seemed to be much pricked in conscience for what he had done, and taks a resolution to forsake his new bedfellow, and accordinly did so. Nevertheless, since his being in Mechlepatan, he hath secretly writ amourous letters to her, professing his affection and constancy.

Roger Brodnax's indentures and bonds had been duly signed by him and returned. He was suspected of complicity in the rebellion; but as the Maŝulipatam factors had allowed him to sign, it was presumed that the suspicion was groundless. As for Nelthrop, his abilities were undoubted, but the writers regretted that they could not give an equally good account of his character and behaviour.

Yet this we must say of him that he hath endured suffitient suffering by Sir Edward Winters meanes. Mr. Jearsey sent him to Syam to look after the concernments of that adventure wherein Sir Thomas Chamber and others were interessed and in which Sir Edward Winter was also interessed, who, after the death of Mr. Dearing, sent thether a servant of his owne, Francis Brough, to whom he gave order with the help of some Portingalls his confederates to seize upon him and what he could finde of Mr. Dearings and bring him in irons to him to this place. And accordingly they did seize upon him at Syam and in an inhumane manner haled him thorough the woods to Tenasseree and there imbarkt him, laden with yrons, into a junck bound from thence to St. Thome, whether I had given orders to the French padres at the arrival of the junck to endeavor his rescue and send him with guard to Mechlepatan (it being in the time of our close imprisonment), that he might to him give an account of the business he sent him about. In his voyage this way he was in yrons made a companion with the elephants which came upon that junck. At the arrival of this junck to St. Thome, Mr. Nelthrop, by the favour of an officer aboard which he had purchased, found meanes to leap overboard into the sea, and so got into a catamaran and safe ashore, and from thence went to Mechlepatan, where he now is.

Chumley had been informed of the Company's indulgence, and had promised in reply to do nothing against their interests. His former compliance with Winter he excused on the ground of necessity.

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Calawele [1] is now secure to the Dutch by the articles of peace, being possessed by them in time of the wars; and it being so far remote from us, we have no opportunity, by making any application to the great ones and rulers there, to have it delivered into our possession againe.

A letter would be sent, as ordered, to the Queen of Achin whenever an opportunity offered. The failure of the fleet to reach Bengal would delay the carrying out of the instructions for a survey of the *Greyhound* and *American*. Jearsey had been instructed to get in the claims assigned to the Company by Chamber; but that relating to the Siam voyage was likely to prove a total loss, and other recoveries were doubtful. As for the payments alleged to have been made by Blake and Bridges to Jearsey, the latter had declared that the money was invested in sugar in Bengal by Chamber's order; this sugar came to a bad market and the money for it was still outstanding. Though nothing had been received at Masulipatam on Chamber's account, over 1,000 pagodas had been paid out on instructions from him and Buckeridge; and it would seem from the agreement with Chamber that the Company were entitled to recover this amount from him. The adventure to Siam was a joint one in which Winter, Blake, and others shared. Winter was supposed to have recovered 20,000 pagodas; but he alleged that it was agreed that Dearing should return direct to each adventurer his share, and therefore he refused to admit that the others had any claim upon the amount he received. Blake had denied that he had agreed to any such arrangement; and it was suspected that Winter, by using force, had obtained more than his proper share. The Company must, however, settle the matter with Winter upon his return, since 'he will not answer heere, and claymes exemption by vertue of the engagement to him by the comissioners'. A request was made for scales and weights for weighing gold; also for beams and scales for avoirdupois goods. Coal was much needed. Other requirements were noted in a list enclosed.

Whilest this is writing, there come a letter to your Agent from Chenapallee Mirzah in answer to one lately sent him about the customes; whereby you will perceive a necessity of coming to some end about that business. We give his owne words as neare as we can have it translated, vizt.: When the Nabob was at

[1] Caile Velha or Old Kāyal.

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Punamalee with his army, intending to keepe an avaldore in the towne of Madrass, the Captaine [i. e. Agent] then made his request that without your Kings leave he was affraid to keepe an avaldore in the towne, and after he had given him [i. e. the English King] to understand of all things he would get an answer to have one of the Divans people, as it hath bene accustomed formerly, both for matters of your merchandize and about its[1] customes to the Divan. From that day unto this tyme, which hath bene five or six yeares, I suppose there would have bene some answer from your King concerning this business. Seeing this, Your Worship would doe well to send one of your people, with a copie of all what your King writ about this business, unto the Nabob, and to make an end of it, for nothing can be made an end of without one of your people going to the Nabob. I doe not require this as a thing that concernes my business; therefor you must send one of your people as soone as possible may be, and have no more to say to none els. And if Your Worship should despise to doe the same, you would be charged with great sums of mony, and you would receive the Nabobs discontent and anger upon you, and this Your Worship must understand. Thus far out of his last letter. Many other letters from him and others about the same thing; and the Nabob himself in none that your Agent hath had from him would take notice of the agreement of 380 pagodas per annum, although in every letter to him your Agent made mention of it as a thing certaine, on purpose contrived to draw out his minde in that particular, but of late he hath given no answer but hath writ about it to this Mirza and to Hassan Caun; but I doe expect to receive answer to my last, wherein I did more fully and particularly mention that 380 pagodas per annum and promis that it should be paid to whom he should give authority to receive it and to give a sufficient discharge for the same; hopeing that mony coming in would have bene an inducement to have it accepted and so the agreement confirmed, and therefore contrived that letter with as pleasing language as I could well devise, being very desirous by faire words to draw this business to an yssue, if it were possible, to prevent the trouble and charge of sending any person, which would cost great piscashes, besides the charge of himself and retinew, which would have bene considerable according to the mode of this country; els would be exposed to contempt. I am not out of hopes but that the Nabob will give answer to my last letter and make some end of this business by writing, which shalbe

[1] 'The' in the second copy.

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by all meanes endeavored. We finde dayly a great feare of a famine in this place for want of raine, of which we have had non in a manner, though the season for it hath some tyme bene running one; which hath made pady and rice exceeding deare, being risen to three tymes the price it is commonly sold for, and yet none to be had for mony. So that, though our cloth comes in beyond our expectation, yet our washermen cannot worke for want of food; for which cause, instead of having their number increased to have bene able to keepe pace as our cloth came in, we shall have them decrease, to go where they may finde food. We are contriving all ways ymaginable how to get some supplies, as well in charity to this poore and miserable people as in respect of necessity for your affaires in washing and dressing your cloth.

In conclusion, Foxcroft and his colleagues suggested that for the future each chief factory should account to the Company for all money received, instead of all transactions being passed through the Madras accounts. The labour caused by the existing practice was great, especially as the time between the arrival of the ships from Bengal and Masulipatam and their dispatch to England was usually very short.

The covering letters to Surat and Masulipatam already mentioned add little to the information given in the one to the Company. In both the fear of famine was stated to have diminished, since rain had at last fallen and the price of paddy had dropped in consequence. The letter to Surat stated that Winter had paid a visit to Pulicat.

After he had spent 8 or 10 days in caressing and being caressed by the Dutch (which may possablely strenghten the former jelouseys of his tempering with them, of which we never had such evidence upon which we could build a beleief), he returned back againe to this place. But seing he went out without consent, we thought not fitt to permitt him to returne againe to his owne house nor within the towne. The engagement permitted him to stay or depart, but containes nothing of any liberty to returne if he once departed. He continues without the walls in a garden; but whether he will doe soe untill the ships return, and so embark himself for England, is rather matter of our doubt then beleife.

In both letters Foxcroft and Sambrook expressed their gratitude to Oxenden and Jearsey for the assistance rendered to them during their imprisonment and the efforts made to secure their release.

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The *Greyhound*, having been sufficiently repaired in Bengal and placed under the command of John Vincent, arrived at Madras, via Masulipatam, on 7 January, 1669, and was joined there four days later by the *Loyal Merchant*. Both vessels were dispatched to England towards the end of the same month, carrying a letter from Foxcroft and his Council, dated 23 January.[1] This reported that trade was rapidly reviving at Madras, and that abundance of rain had relieved the people of all fear of famine.

By the letters (coppys whereof you will herewith receive) which have past betweene your Agent Governoure and Yecknan Caun Nabob and Mirza Chinapella and Hassan Caun etc. you will find in what state we stand concerning the rent of this towne and a governoure they would have to reside heere; which will be necessary that you give your positive order what shall be done . . . in case it shall not be brought to an issue before; but, howsoever, your direction and order aboute it we desire may not be forgotten, your Agent having promised to write to Your Worships aboute it. In the perusall of those letters you will find that your Agent Governoure hath fully endeavoured, by all faire and smooth language that he thought would suite with the Nabobs temper, to perswade him to put an end to this businesse by writing, if possible, to prevent the greate charge of piscashes and other charge which such an attendance would unavoidably bring with it. However, it hath procured an answer from him, by which you may perceive what he expects, vizt., the full custome and setling of a governoure heere. The last letter our Agent Governour writ to him was sent by our Bramini, who is our servant to be alwaies resident there, to give intelligence of what passeth there, at no greate charge (having alwaies beene usual). Although the effect of what was desired by your Agent in his last letter is so far answered before it come to the Nabobs hands that he writt what it is he requires (as was desired), yet we hope to receive a further answer from him, so as that the businesse may be composed by letters; although as for the rent of 380 pagodas per annum he doth seeme to disowne and expects I should not insist upon it. If a further answer should not come, neverthelesse, after we heare from our Bramini there, your Agent will give answer of this last letter from the Nabob, with all the faire and plausible language he can to desist any

[1] The original is not extant. The *O.C.* copy has been followed in the main, with certain corrections from the other (which is wrongly dated 27 January). The earlier part of the letter was written much in advance of the rest.

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further to urge that matter, seing he doth, in the conclusion of his letter, give liberty to write to His Majesty aboute it; for so they imagine it is to be transacted in England, but, the whole power being in the Honourable Company by His Majesties grant and pattent, we have only to make application to Your Worships that we may receive your orders.

The suggestion was repeated that Masulipatam and Bengal should account direct to the Company, and the necessity of sending a larger stock was again urged. A letter had been received from the captives in Ceylon; but no one could be found willing to risk going to the King, as it was generally believed that 'he suffers never any to returne that come to him'. All they could do was to encourage the prisoners to make their escape, and to offer a reward to any one assisting them.

The mastives that you intended as a present for that king are all dead but one, who is likely to follow them the same way. While they lived they were as chargeable to you as so many men, if not more, with the necessary attendants to keepe them asunder from worrying one another, which they fiercly did, if by accident any of them got loose.

The *Diligence* was daily expected from Porto Novo, and would then be dispatched to Bengal as soon as the season permitted.[1] It was as well she had been sent to the former place, for

had we kept her here, there had beene no possibility of her escape from perishing in a dreadfull storme, or rather hurricane, which hapned here the 22th of November. The like hath not beene knowne here in any mans memory. The tempest of wind and raine was so exceeding violent that nothing could stand before it; men and beast carried into the sea by the violence of the winds and floud. The generality of the houses in this and the neighboure townes were ruined; scarse any trees left standing in gardens or elsewhere; the walls of this towne laid flat in severall places; your godownes and other houses in and aboute the Fort uncovered and exceedingly shattered; no place in the Fort where we could keepe our persons, bookes, or papers free from the wind or raine, nor scarcely any doores stand against the violence of it. And we hourely feared the falling of the Fort downe upon us, it was so exceedingly rockt; and yet abroad we could have no shelter, nor were able [to] stand against it. The repairing of the dammage will

[1] She had arrived by 14 January, when Hutchins was reinstated as her commander.

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necessarily require a greate charge; which at the first we thought should have amounted to 3,000 pagodas, but hope it will come short thereof.

Winter's visit to Pulicat, and the refusal to readmit him to Madras, were next narrated. He set out about 12 October and returned towards the end of that month. On 21 November he went again to Pulicat, intending to proceed to Masulipatam, but on his way to that place,

hunting a wild hog, got a fall, and his horse falling and lying upon him sorely bruised him, etc. So that he was forced to give over his intended journey, and returned back to Pullicat, where he remained many daies for his cure; and this day (being the 6th of January) he is come from thence to Trevitore,[1] a towne within fewe miles of this place.

Among the reasons for not permitting him to return to his house in Madras were that he had arms and ammunition there, and that he had 'given out that in fewe daies there would be another change in this place; so knewe not what designes he might have'. It was believed that he had no intention of returning to England immediately. As regards the two ministers sent out by the Company,

some of us are not free to say what others of us are willing unto, as not being satisfyed concerning them, because they [i. e. the ministers] are not at liberty in their judgements to reade the Common Prayers; nor are free to acknowledge them as ministers, for that they are not satisfyed that they have received episcopall ordination.[2] We shall therfore add no more concerning them in this generall letter, but shall leave every one [in] particular at liberty to write what they in truth and with a good conscience they think themselves obliged to say. . . . The young lads which you sent over, who had there education in Christs Hospitall, are towardly boyes hitherto, and we hope will continue and prove as fitt for your service as any you send over in that capacity; and being plyable and brought up to your hands by good education, may in time prove good servants in further imploiments. And we shall take all care in their education and to keepe them in full imploiment; they being very willing unto it, and do not fall short of any in doing their share, as the rest also are whome we have

[1] Tiruvottiyūr, six miles north of Fort St. George.

[2] Apparently this suspicion was groundless (see Penny's *Church in Madras*, vol. i. pp. 50, 662).

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kept in this place. The one of them, John Nix, your Agent hath taken into his particular care and is alwaies under his eyes, and can give a good account of his service. The others are distributed under the particular care of others, one to Mr. Sambrooke, another to Mr. Nathaniel Foxcroft, and the other to Mr. Edward Herrys; whome I have desired to looke strictly after them and take care that they reade the Scriptures daily morning and evening, which I also do to my boy; and although he [i. e. the Agent] cannot daily have the rest in his eye, yet every Lords Day he calls them all to an account of what they have heard, and of everyone their chapter learned by heart, which they performe to good satisfaction; by which the Scriptures becoming familiar to them while young, may abide with them when they are old.

No list came with the soldiers sent out, nor any particulars of the wages to be paid; consequently the men's own statements had had to be accepted. Those already on the spot had been paid their full wages during Winter's usurpation, and 'that course will now hardly be broken', especially as most had served their full time and would not be content with any other arrangement. No part of their wages, therefore, should be paid to any assignees in England. One of the ingots of gold received was so brittle that the coiners could not make it 'beare the hammer to make an essay therof to know what alloy to put to it that it may be coyned'. This might be due, either to deceit in England or the unskilfulness of the coiners at Madras, who have not the knowledge or the materials that enable the work to be done rapidly and well in London.

These men spend many daies, by often fires and meltings, before they can perfect their essayes; and even then also the severall essayes of one and the same peice (which they have beene often caused to make) do not perfectly agree; and though all dilligence hath beene used, by the exactest care in the most exact weighing of the gold, before melting and after, and of the alloy added, and the continuall watching them by the night and by day, never suffering them to be alone with the gold, secretly to practice any deceite, and although very much paines hath bene taken with all watchfullness to observe them, their deceite (if they have any) cannot be [discovered?], nor which way they can make advantage to themselves by deceiving you, seing that exact care is taken to have your owne gold and alloy back againe, weight for weight; unlesse they should, after it is gone abroad, get it againe and secretly

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coyne and add more alloy to it, when they knowe they have put to litle. There hath beene as much ingenuity to dive into their mystery as is likely possible to be done by one who is not a professed and very skillfull artist. It is true indeed heere are no exact weights by which to try their essaies . . . for a small difference or incuriosity in that may amount unto considerable prejudice in a quantity. Therfore it is extreemly necessary that the suply you send be very curiously and exactly made, both for beame and scales and ballance, and of all weights, even to the minutest that are. And it will be very usefull if you will please to gaine and send all particular instructions from essaymasters, or any bookes treating about the making essayes and the manner of working and the tables that are (as we presume there are) for the least fractions in computing; and you may be assured you have persons heere of such ingenuity that will make good, if not the utmost, advantage of them. Or whether you may not, upon consideration of the premises, think it fitt and adviseable for you to send over an able saymaster, well acquainted with coyning, we leave to your wisdome, furnished with aqua fortis and all necessary materialls.

The services of a second 'chirurgeon' were desired, in case of the sickness or death of 'Mr. Jardin', the only person available since the decease of Philip Bradford, whose skill and abilities had caused him to be much missed. Request was made for 40 bales of broadcloth (mostly red), one bale of fine scarlet cloth, 50 candy of alum ('every candy being 500 lb.'), 50 candy of copper, 100 candy of lead, and 100 maunds of coral ('every maund being 25 lb.'). Vermilion, quicksilver, and brimstone were not needed, there being sufficient stocks to last for over two years. A list of various requirements was sent, including articles for presents. Smythes and Chuseman were going home in the *Loyal Merchant*. Clavell arrived in that vessel from Masulipatam, having been detained at Golconda by long and dangerous sickness. Chappell had been obliged to remain behind at that place 'in a weake condition', and had since written for money to pay his current expenses and to enable him to journey to Madras, when recovered. Brodnax had left Masulipatam for Bengal in the *Blackamoor*. Francis Turner and Nathaniel Fitch had died at the former place; but there were still more factors than necessary in Madras, Masulipatam, and Bengal, owing to the 'plentifull supply' received by the last fleet. Townsend and Shem Bridges had reached the Fort from Bengal. The former was praised for his 'greate

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deserts and ability ' and was recommended to the Company for an increase of salary, as his claims seemed to have been overlooked at home. Bridger and Mainwaring had returned to Madras from Masulipatam. The latter and Clavell had been granted permission to go to Bengal. A narrative by Bridges of affairs in the Bay was forwarded. The goods embarked at the Fort in the two ships were stated to be as follows. In the *Loyal Merchant*, 602 bales of white longcloth, costing 20,362 pagodas 26 fanams; 138 bales of unbleached longcloth, 3,622 pagodas 16 fanams; 17 bales of salampores (of 31 coveds), 1,712 pagodas; 6 bales of fine ' morees ' (18 coveds), 1,072 pagodas; 5 bales of ordinary ditto (17¾ coveds), 484 pagodas; 2 bales of ' percalles ', 224 pagodas; 17 bales of fine ' beteeles ' (40 coveds), 2,732 pagodas; 12 bales of ditto (31 coveds), 1,560 pagodas; 4 bales of ditto (50 coveds), 680 pagodas; 460 bags of stick-lac, 776 pagodas 8 fanams; ' charges marchandize ', 2,069 pagodas; total, 35,334 [1] pagodas 18 fanams. In the *Greyhound*, 81 bales of white longcloth, costing 2,531 pagodas 8 fanams; 209 bales of unbleached longcloth, 5,537 pagodas 16 fanams; 2 bales of blue ' sallampores ', 93 pagodas; 40 bags of stick-lac, 67 pagodas 16 fanams; ' charges marchandize ', 441 pagodas 3 fanams; total, 8,670 pagodas 11 fanams. The ' sallampores ' were sent as a sample. The goods were not so ' well whited and drest ' as could be desired, but this was due to the rains and to the scarcity of labour. For the same reason more of the cloth had been sent home unbleached than had been intended. The ' beetelees ' also would possibly be found ' not so exactly made according to your desire '; but the factors had been forced to take what they could get. If they had a stock of 100,000*l.* left after the departure of the ships, they could undertake to invest it all to advantage. Permission was requested to buy lac to make up (with saltpetre) any deficiency in the cargoes. The commander of the *Greyhound* had borrowed for the ship's use 190 rials of eight at 7*s.* 6*d.* each, giving bond for repayment of the same. Samuel [2] Charlton, who had served for many years and was so disabled by sickness that he was never likely to go home, had made a request to be allowed to draw all his salary at Madras, and this was referred to the Company.

The two ships left Madras on 23 January, 1669, and the same

[1] This figure appears to be an error for 35,294.

[2] Apparently an error for ' Stephen '.

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evening the *Rainbow* arrived, bringing Jearsey and other passengers from Masulipatam. After taking out of her 472 bales of saltpetre, the following goods were put aboard: 36 bales of ordinary 'sallampores' (31 coveds), costing 1,764 pagodas; 4 bales of unbleached ditto (31 coveds), 135 pagodas; 35 bales of ordinary longcloth (72 coveds), 1,154 pagodas 22 fanams; 3 bales of 'beteeles' (40 coveds), 470 pagodas; 1 bale of ditto (31 coveds), 137 pagodas 16 fanams; 4 bales of fine 'morees', 704 pagodas; 112 bags of stick-lac, 173 pagodas 26 fanams; which, with 'charges merchandize', made a total of 4,814 pagodas 23⅔ fanams. This was advised in a letter to the Company, dated 29 January, which added that the vessel also carried a quantity of goods (144 bales of calicoes, according to a marginal note) which Winter had removed from the Company's warehouses, claiming them as his own. These, by agreement with him, were now consigned to Sir Andrew Riccard, Thomas Winter, and two other gentlemen, and were to remain in the Company's custody 'till the title were determined by right and justice'. The shipping of these goods enabled the factors to keep back some unbleached calicoes, which would now be 'whited' and sent home by the next fleet. Some letters from the Dutch at Pulicat were sent home for transmission to Holland. Edward Reade was recommended for employment, 'being a very ingenious and knowing person, and hath thereby incurred the fierce hatred of Sir Edward Winter, notwithstanding his relation to him'. Edward Herries had represented that during his imprisonment all his accounts as purser were eaten by rats and cockroaches, and he was therefore unable to furnish any statement. John Hopkins and John Field, who had both served their full time and proved themselves diligent and careful, were recommended for increases of salary. The former had suffered much from Winter's enmity, and had been forced to take refuge at Masulipatam. The captains of all three ships had made the usual signals, 'by shooting of a gunn', that their holds were full, and had 'turned back boates laden by their sides'; yet Risby at the last moment sent a note ashore, saying that he could have taken in more stick-lac. It was feared, therefore, that he intended to represent that there was a deficiency in his cargo. Robert Wright, doctor of the *Rainbow*, was recommended to the Company for appointment as surgeon at Madras. Five bags of rice and 'a mum caske of arrack' were being sent to St. Helena. This letter was signed by

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Agent Foxcroft, Jearsey, Shem Bridges, Sambrook, Nathaniel Foxcroft, Clavell, Herries, and Smithson; it was received in London 16 August, 1669.

The list of stores required is not without interest. Besides the articles mentioned in the letters, it includes stationery, lanterns (one of them 'to light the ships coming into the roade in the night'), tar, silver plate (which was declared to be cheaper in the long run than earthenware or china), cheese, oil, olives, saddles and bridles, mum, wine, beer, brandy, canvas (to make tarpaulins), glass and stone bottles, tin funnels, tools, two large 'perspective glasses [i. e. telescopes] . . . to spy ships, &c.', garden seeds 'for phisick', and a quantity of gunner's stores.[1]

We have seen that the general letter of 23 January foreshadowed a separate representation to the Company on the subject of the unorthodoxy of the two ministers that had been sent out to the Coast. This document, dated 22 January, 1669, is now in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. xi, f. 133), and is signed by Shem Bridges, Sambrook, Clavell, Smithson, and Herries. It roundly accused Thomson and Hook of being merely laymen, and said that the former had publicly refused to marry, baptize, or bury, and used extempore prayers in lieu of the prescribed service. It therefore begged for their supersession by orthodox divines. A similar representation (*ibid.*, f. 135) was made at the same time to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his assistance and suggesting that future chaplains 'may bring out the approbation of Your Grace, or some one of the Lord Bishops'.

The departure of Smythes and Chuseman afforded Winter an opportunity of representing his grievances to His Majesty and others. It was doubtless to their care that he entrusted the two letters, dated 19 January, 1669, and addressed respectively to King Charles and Lord Arlington, which will be found in the same volume as the foregoing (*C.O.* 77, vol. xi, ff. 129, 131). In the first he stated that the duplicate of His Majesty's letter of 12 April, 1667, arrived on 1 Sept., 1668, the original 'having not hitherto come to reception'. He had already obeyed it by handing over Madras to Foxcroft upon sight of His Majesty's commission under the broad seal, which, though dated later, arrived nine days before the royal letter. He expressed his gratitude for the King's expression of confidence

[1] Further details will be found in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 268).

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in his fidelity, and he trusted that justice would be done him in regard to those who had slandered him. He complained that Foxcroft, since his resumption of office,

hath demeaned himselfe more like a judge than a guilty person; having taken his son, Nathaniel Foxcroft, who was the first in the late treason, to be one of the standing Councell, and those soldiers, who had bin formerly bribed to murder myselfe and the rest of Your Majesty's faithfull subjects, being now made officers of the garrison and distributed into all the places of power and trust; those poor Englishmen in the meane time who stood true to the royall interest being deprived of all maintenance, thrust out of towne, and forc't to beg their bread in a strange and heathen country, wherein some of them have bin rob'd and stript and run the hazard of their lives already; and wee that remayne here lye at the mercy both of Your Majesty's and our owne avowed enemies.

Winter had done his best to realize his estate, with a view to going home to answer all charges against him; but Foxcroft and his abettors were placing all possible hindrances in his way. They had taken away all his servants, had forbidden all Englishmen to visit his house, and had prevented the sale of his goods. He understood His Majesty's intention to be that Foxcroft should be superseded by a person of integrity; but the Company had taken no steps to effect this, and on the contrary had rewarded Winter's opponents. Foxcroft himself was

boasting in a new title of being made Governour of this place; which he now exercises with soe much arbitrariness that, although I have gone but once out of the towne for this months space, yet he threatens to keep me out if I offer to goe againe without his leave, notwithstanding Your Majesty's letter to the contrary.

Winter trusted that the King would interpose his royal protection and secure for him liberty to gather in his estate and proceed to England.

The second letter was full of similar complaints. 'Not one English servant suffred to come neare me, and so small a retinue of blacks allowed me as though I were not able to maintaine myselfe in the same splendour as formerly (so to make me contemptible among the natives).' The most malicious of the accusations made against him, he said, was that of endeavouring to sell Madras to the Dutch. As to this, he enclosed a formal denial from the Dutch

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Governor and Council at Pulicat.[1] The refutation of this calumny should discredit the rest of the aspersions cast upon him. He complained that Foxcroft was still kept in his place, despite the King's order to the Company; and he alleged that his witnesses were being detained in custody, without any charge being preferred against them, in order to intimidate them into withdrawing the charges.

And Mrs. Chuseman, the wife of Capt. Francis Chuseman (one of the wittnesses), hath bin assaulted in hir house and wounded to the hazard of hir life (of which wound she hath since miscarried) by one John Crandon, secretary to this Worshipfull Councell, and all this done in the very face of government and almost under the walls of the castle; the said Crandon being still in as great favour as ever, and soe much an abettour of Foxcrofts former actions that he dares not displease him, for fear of having the whole mistery of their iniquity unraveld by him.

Winter begged for protection against Foxcroft, adding that it was hard that 'my thirty years labours and upwards in India should come to be swallowed up by an old bankrupt Oliverian commissioner, whom church lands and debentures could not choake long agoe, and who will never be able to make satisfaction for the tithe of the damage I have sustayned by him allready'.

To the same period (or possibly a little earlier) may be assigned an undated petition addressed to the King by Winter, Chuseman, and Smythes, complaining of their sufferings in person and estate for adhering to His Majesty's interests, and begging that they might be compensated and that Foxcroft and Sambrook might be recalled to answer the charges made against them. This document is likewise in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 123).

To the Company Winter wrote, under date of 19 January, a long letter, expressing his grief that he had fallen under their displeasure and protesting that he had done nothing to justify the 'strange usage' he had received from them. He justified at length all his proceedings and avowed his readiness to stand 'a fair tryall by the law of England'. Foxcroft he would prove 'a notorious knave'; while Jearsey had wronged both him and the Company by grossly undervaluing his *Preventer*. Winter next offered to recover the Company's share of the Siam venture. Finally he complained of Foxcroft's action in excluding him from Madras.

[1] See f. 89 of the same volume for this document.

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We must also notice a letter from Winter, dated 29 January, 1669, and addressed to the four gentlemen to whom were consigned the goods sent home in the *Rainbow* which were in dispute between Sir Edward and the Madras Council (see p. 159). He admitted that he had reimbursed himself, after Foxcroft's imprisonment, for the amount he had spent upon the goods in the first instance; but he alleged that the money he had received had been swallowed up in the expenses of his second administration, and that he was afterwards forced, owing to the lack of funds, to buy back the goods in order to provide money for the defence of the Fort, &c. He expressed his confidence that the Company would do him justice in the matter, and would also issue orders to Foxcroft which would enable Winter to get in his outstanding debts; until this was done he could not proceed to England (as otherwise he would have done in the *Rainbow*). As the result of his agreeing to the goods being sent home, he had been allowed to return to his house in Madras, though in other respects the treatment he was receiving from the Council was unsatisfactory. He was sure that, when matters had been fully examined, the Company would have 'a better opinion . . . then at present they are pleased to have of me, being, as I understand, something under a cloud as to their favour'.

In conclusion some account may be given of a document which throws light upon the manifold activities of Jearsey at Masulipatam as a shipowner and trader. This is a deposition by a mariner named John Cooper, made at the East India House on 18 September, 1669 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3, p. 76). Cooper declared that he went out in the *Madras Merchant* in 1662 and was discharged at Madras in January, 1663. He then went to Masulipatam, where he was engaged by Jearsey as chief mate of his *Ruby* (120 tons), in which he made a voyage to Pegu with calicoes and red cotton yarn, bringing back (in the following December) gance (bell-metal), Martaban jars, beeswax, and elephants' teeth. Jearsey then made him commander of his *Adam and Eve* (100 tons), which sailed at the beginning of February, 1665, to Achin with calicoes, William Acworth going in the ship as supercargo. The vessel returned in April, 1665, with only about ten tons of 'danner,[1] a commodity used in India for pitching their shipps'. During his absence Jearsey's *Consent* (300 tons) had made a voyage to Persia under James

[1] Resin (Malayo-Javanese *damar*).

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Bearblock, who afterwards went to Pegu. Cooper next made two voyages to the latter country in Jearsey's *Advice* (a sloop of 25 tons). The first voyage was to carry news of the outbreak of war with the Dutch, but on the second he brought back some elephants' teeth for Jearsey. During the rest of the war he did not go to sea again. Jearsey lost two ships to the Dutch, viz. the *Nonsuch*, laden with calicoes for Achin, which was taken by the Dutch out of Masulipatam Road, and the *Adventure*, which, returning from Pegu, was also surprised at Masulipatam and carried to Batavia. The *Nonsuch*, Cooper understood, had previously made a voyage to Tenasserim. After the conclusion of peace, he was sent in the *Advice* to Pegu to take over the command of the *Consent*, which had been laid up there during the war; but on his way he met with a storm which drove him to Arakan, whence he returned to Masulipatam. He remained there until the arrival of the *Greyhound*, in which he came to England as second mate. Just before his departure there arrived at Masulipatam a new ship of 200 tons, which Jearsey had built at Madapollam.

Hee saith that during his beeing at Metchlepatam hee observed that the ould and new pagothaes did rise and fall much in price, but as mony did rise in price callicoes and other commodityes did fall much more; soe that the Company by their pagothoes or callicoes were noe loosers, but rather gayners thereby. Rupees and cash is the comon and ordinary coyne by which all callicoes etc. are bought and sould. Hee saith the Companies accompts cannot bee exactly kept in old or new pagothaes, by reason of their rising and falling.

THE BENGAL FACTORIES, 1668

Only one document emanating from Bengal breaks the silence of the first seven months of the year, and that is somewhat of an enigma. It is a document in Persian, endorsed 'Nabob Turbeit Caun his phirwanna for the kingdome of Orixa, procured by W[illiam] B[lake], March, 1667–8'. Tarbīyat Khān, whose embassy to Persia was mentioned in the last volume (p. 264), had been appointed Governor of Orissa in June, 1667, upon the death of Khān Daurān (Jadunath Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 200); but

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we have no information as to the circumstances in which Blake obtained this *parwāna* from him. We may, however, surmise that the attempts made in Bengal proper, as mentioned later, to levy customs dues on English goods had led to similar demands in Orissa; and that this had induced the English Chief to procure from the Governor of that province the order in question. As the stamp upon it seems to bear the name of Tarbīyat Khān, the document is presumably the original. It recites that, in accordance with a *farmān* from Shāh Jahān, the goods of the English Company are exempt from customs duties and all other payments, and orders accordingly that no demands should be made upon them on this account. The exemption is to include, as hitherto, goods brought from 'the ports of Zerbād'[1]; and assistance is to be given to the English merchants in recovering monies due to them. The grant is dated 9 Shawwāl in the eleventh year of the reign, i. e. 13 March, 1668 (O.S.).

The next document available is the record of a consultation held at Balasore on 18 August. This was concerned with the behaviour of Thomas Stiles, who had visited the Governor of the town, given him a present, and solicited his help in recovering a debt. He had done so, not only without the permission of the Chief, but in defiance of a check from the latter, when he once mentioned his intention during some discourse at table about the matter, saying that he was prepared to offer the Governor a third of the money recovered. Blake's reason for objecting was that such action

might occasion the Governours inquiry into whatever persons should bee emprisoned as debitours, to force their appearance before him, by which he may pretend the ending there, and soe to recover a third, producing said as a president; or at least might much weaken the priviledg we have to call our debitours to accompt or imprison their persons.

Stiles did not deny the accusation; but he maintained that he was at liberty to use any means he pleased to recover a private debt, without asking permission from anybody. In view of this contumacy, it was decided that he should be required to remain within the English house, and that the other factors should be forbidden to

[1] Mr. C. A. Storey, who kindly translated the document, informs me that this term means Java, Sumatra, &c. He also states that the Wazīrābād of p. 412 of the 1655–60 volume should properly be rendered Zerbād.

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acquaint him with any of the Company's business. An allowance of twelve rupees per month was made for his maintenance; and his further punishment was to be considered at the arrival of the next shipping. The consultation was signed by Blake and Bridges; while Vincent, who presumably dissented, testified to the correctness of the account given therein of the conversation at table.

The matter was again considered at a consultation held at Balasore on 17 October. Vincent had twice been sent to Stiles to persuade him to acknowledge his error; but the culprit steadily maintained 'his contempt and obstinacie'. It was therefore resolved to dismiss him from the service and expel him from the factory. As before, Blake and Bridges signed the record; while Vincent contented himself with attesting the truth of the statement concerning his mediation.

No news had come of the approach of any ships from England, and on 20 October Blake and Bridges at Balasore addressed a letter to Surat, which said:

The coppie attested of this Kings phirmaund, which Your Worship lately procured, having perused, and though [wee] find it much in favour to our buisynesse in your parts, respecting what custome formerly paid etc abuses, yett therein being mentioned the paying of two per cent., wee dare not produce it, either to the Nabobs view or Governor, unlesse Shausteh Ckaun should proceed in demanding and exacting custome, when it may bee much advantadgious. Wee doe not apprehend that hee will dare to exact any, considering our long enjoyed priviledges to the contrary, given by the Prince and since confirmed by severall Nabobs; yet hee being acquainted that said are not confirmed by the King, hee makes use of the latter as a pretence to necessitate us to give him a visite, with some considerable present, which is his onely drift, and accordingly hee underhand gives his Governor power in all places where wee have buisynesse to molest it; which lately wee have experienced by the coming downe of a small parcell of petre from Patana, meeting greate stopps in all places under his government, his officers openly declaring that what goods in the future should passe upp and downe they would exact the custome of Gentues, unlesse [wee] produced their masters new phirmand, what wee procured at his coming into government now of noe vallue; the Nabob being thus our enemy, partly occasioned through Thomas Pratts[1] flight to Rachan [Arakan] and entertaining there the

[1] For Pratt see the 1661–4 and 1665–7 volumes.

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Rajahs service. This person formerly managed what buisynesse of the Companies at Patta[1] in Mosum Ckauns[2] time, and after for some time under Shausteh Ckaun, who entertained him in the Kings service, made him a munsubdar of 300 munsub; when furnished him with about 10,000 rupees, and intended his goeing upp to the King. Accordingly hee fitted himselfe; but through some report that the Nabob had written against him, as that hee kept a corrispondence with the Mogue,[3] hee made his escape on a boate, [with] two or three Englishmen and severall Portugeze. Since tis reported that hee etc. that accompanied him are murdered by the Rajah, on some jealousies of their fidelity. This, wee conceive, is not the onely reason, in that the losse is the Kings, and from his security (which were Moors) hee hath exacted the money; the other is an effect of his coveteousnesse, wanting a present, and receiving from the Dutch yearely and large. This latter wee are not in a condition to remedy, and know not when shall, if our ships arrive not, when our conditions wilbee most sad and our masters affaires and commerce noe better. These two years wee have kept it upp from quite falling downe on credit and partly with our owne estates; but now both are exhausted, soe of necessity all wilbee ruined, the saltpeter investment lost, and Cassumbazar taffaty weavours, etc. Soe that for want of a stocke what shipping next yeare may arrive will want any considerable matter of lading; this not to bee remedied unlesse it should please God wee bee furnished with monies by the latter end of December at furthest; which wee cannot expect, except our shipps bee gotten to the Coast. Wee have inlarged in our troubles, requesting what assistance Your Worship may bee able to give us as to the procury of this Kings [phirmand], confirming our priviledges; which being obtained would bee very advantagious.

No news had been heard of Clavell, nor whether Madras had been surrendered by Winter. The President was thanked for the intelligence he had sent concerning affairs at Surat, especially regarding the proceedings of the French. It was opined that the Dutch would obstruct the latter as far as possible, and that the wars in Europe would prove a further hindrance.

The Dutch have arrived here from Battavia and Zeilon 12 shipps,

[1] An error for 'Dacca'. [2] Mu'azzam Khān (i. e. Mīr Jumla).

[3] The King of Arakan. See *Hobson-Jobson* (second edition, p. 594), where the following is quoted from the 1684 English translation of Tavernier: 'In all Bengala this King (of Arakan) is known by no other name but the King of Mogue.'

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one of which was cast away upon the Brases [1] in Hugly river, when they had a considerable losse, though by them not esteemed, considering their greate stockes. They still expect three more. They formerly gave out of a greate victory they had over the King of Macasser, and that they had taken his greate fort and brought him to signe slavish conditions; which now, by the arrivall of later shipps, understand the contrary, that said King had done them greate damage. Upon receipt of the Companies advises, dated 26th August,[2] wee ordered the present masters of shipps *Greyhound* and *American* [3] to fitt their shipps, and furnished them with monies. The latter upon search is found insufficient to proceed home this yeare, if ever; not through any damadge received here, but for want of well fitting when shee came out. The other very sound, requiring little to bee done to her. God willing, shee wilbee out in this road, ready to take in her lading, about the 20th ensuing month; when I intend with all expedition to lade and dispatch her for the Coast, with what Englishmen shee has left and laskarrs; there to bee furnished with officers and common sailers, which may bee arrived for her on our shipps, or there to bee procured.

This letter [4] was forwarded to Surat from Patna some time in November, with a brief note from Charnock and Elwes, containing no fresh news. An earlier letter from the same two factors, dated the 9th of that month, acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Surat of 25 April, 'with packetts for Bengall,' which had arrived on 2 June. No intelligence had been received from Balasore for two and a half months, and 'the condition wee at present live in is but very low', for want of stock.

Another document of this period is a protest, dated 21 October, 1668, against the Dutch factors at Balasore. This recites that the latter, during the late war, had obtained from the Nawāb Shāista Khān a grant of a piece of ground for the enlargement of their factory and, with the help of the Governor of the town, had taken possession of it, 'violently turning out the dwellers in it'. This ground, it was declared, had been 'built upon, planted, and

[1] This is probably the earliest mention of the Braces—the well-known sands at the mouth of the Hūgli River.

[2] 1667 (see the preceding volume, p. 318).

[3] The two ships which had been in Bengal ever since August 1665.

[4] A letter for the Company evidently accompanied it (*O.C.* 3236), but no copy thereof has been found.

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possessed by severall Englishmen . . . during these 20 yeers last past', and it was contended that the action of the Dutch was contrary to the recent treaty of peace. The protest was witnessed by John Deverell and Jeremiah Briggs; while March and Vincent certified that it had been duly presented to Herman Jansen Voorburgh, Chief of Pippli, who was then in Balasore.

The dispatch of the *Loyal Merchant* and *Rainbow* from Madras to Bengal (via Masulipatam) early in September has already been mentioned. These vessels carried with them two letters from the Company, addressed to 'Our Cheife and Factors at Hughly', and dated respectively 24 January and 14 February, 1668. The second merely forwarded a list of errors found by the Auditor in the Bengal accounts and certain queries on the same; but the former was a much lengthier epistle. It advised the dispatch of the fleet, and stated that the Coast factors had been instructed to send on to Bengal one-third of the treasure and certain specified quantities of broadcloth, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, tin, copper, and sword-blades. The Bengal factors would thus, it was hoped, be furnished with a stock sufficient not only to relade the four vessels, but also to set on foot investments for the following year. In addition, they were authorized to 'take up' (with the consent of the Madras Agent and Council) money to a limit of 10,000*l.*, in exchange for bills on the Company at 2*s.* 6*d.* the rupee. The ships were to be reladen with as much saltpetre as they could carry, and to be sent back to the Coast as quickly as possible. Part of the saltpetre would be landed at Masulipatam or Madras, for kentledge or for transhipment to Bantam, &c. Of the factors, &c., sent out, the Madras Council would supply Bengal with such as they thought fit. A small vessel, named the *Diligence*, of about 60 tons, had been built and sent out with the fleet; she was to be employed in helping to lade the ships and in 'the discovery of the river Gangees'. Whether the ships of the present fleet should go up the river was left to be settled by the factors with the commanders. The measures to be taken in the event of Fort St. George not being recovered were next detailed. Rules and orders 'for religion' were forwarded, and obedience to them was enjoined; also rules for private trade, a register of which was to be kept. Instructions were repeated as to the goods to be provided for the following season, including 800 to 1,000 tons of Patna saltpetre, 2,000 pieces of fine taffetas, 40 to 60 yards in length, and 1,000 pieces

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of the best ordinary taffetas, 10 or 11 yards long. Should the *Diligence* be available for the purpose, orders were to be given

that the master and some other persons doe take notice of the channell and depths of the river Gangees and the entrance thereinto, that so, upon the arriveall of our ships in the following yeare, wee may have able English pylatts to bring in our ships into the river for their most safe, quick, and convenient loading. And let them keepe a journall of their proceedings, and make exact drafts of their depths, reachees, and currents; as also how the sands usually varie. And so, when any of our ships come into Gangees, you may bee much guided by the practize of the Dutch, both as to their safe goeing out and coming in.

It was useless to complain of unvendible goods being sent to Bengal from Madras, without specifying their nature. Fifty bales of raw silk, 'the best and finest sorts of head and belly,' might be sent home, provided the cost did not exceed 8*s*. the lb. of 24 oz. Patterns of Surat cotton yarn were forwarded as a guide for that commodity. The samples of taffetas sent by the *Dorcas* were of course lost, as also the copies of factory books; fresh transcripts of the latter, and other samples, should be supplied, together with the transcripts from Kāsimbāzār and Patna which were not ready at the time of the ship's departure. As requested, Robert Elwes's debt of 952 rupees would be charged against his salary;[1] but for the future care should be taken that none of the subordinate factors 'fall into the like condition'. It was understood that silver would fetch a better price at Kāsimbāzār than at Hūgli; inquiries should be made, and future supplies disposed of at the place yielding most profit. Some fine broadcloth, scarlet and green, was being sent; information was desired what quantities would sell, and at what price.

Wee are very desirous to advance the sale of that manufacture of cloth, and therefore wee desire that you endeavour the vending of as large quantityes, both of the ordinary and fine, as possibly you can, though at small proffitt. And if the taking of callicoes or taffataies in barter, at indifferent and reasonable prices, will cause a larger consumption, wee give you liberty therein.

[1] See *Court Minutes, &c.*, 1664–7, p. 353. The matter was settled at home with Sir Gervase Elwes, the brother of Robert. They were cousins of Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was hanged in 1615 for complicity in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

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Blake's request for leave to proceed to England by the next fleet was granted, and Shem Bridges was appointed to succeed him as Chief. In the event of the death of Bridges, Powell was to take up the post. Certain complaints against Blake would be investigated when he arrived in England; but before leaving Bengal he should clear Billidge's debt of 7,000 rupees, with interest at 18 per cent. from 14 Dec. 1660 to the date when the money was repaid to the Company; he should also set all affairs in order before his departure.

Though in yours of 21th October 1665 [*not extant*] you write us that you had then some hopes that the yearly exaction of 3,000 rupies would bee taken off, yet wee find in your last that your hopes are blasted and that your aplycations to the Nabob prooved ineffectuall. However, wee would have you (as occasion shall offer) still to endeavour the taking it off; and also to ease us of all unecessary presents and other charges, and to live frugally, as in severall of our former letters wee have desired and to which you have promised your complyance. Wee observe what you have written concerning Decca, that it is a place that will vend much Europe goods and that the best cossaes, mullmuls,[1] etc. may there be procured. It is our earnest desire (as before intimated) that as large quantities of broadclothes as possible may be vended by you; therefore, if you shall really find that the setling a factory in that place will ocasion the taking off some considerable quantity of our manufactures, and that (as you write) the advance of their sales will beare the charge of the factory, wee then give you liberty to send two or three fitt persons thither to reside, and to furnish them with cloth etc. proper for that place.

Finding in the account of presents several articles charged at excessive rates, the Court were sending a supply of knives, looking-glasses, &c., for that purpose. Information should be supplied whether there was any sale for such articles, and what quantities should be sent yearly. The order given in a former clause for ordinary taffetas was amended to one of 2,000 pieces of that sort, 'close and well made', of full 30 yards in length. The salary of Thomas Haselwood was increased by 10*l.* per annum. Edward [Edmund?] Bugden and George Everard, of each of whom an ill character had been received, were to be sent to England. It was believed that a large quantity of prohibited goods and treasure had been clandestinely

[1] Both 'cossaes' and 'mullmuls' were kinds of muslin.

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shipped. Search should be made and the prescribed mulcts inflicted; while a full account of such private trade should be supplied. Matthias Vincent and Thomas Stiles were to be admitted to the Council; and the salary of the former was to be increased to 35*l*.

Though nothing was said in this letter about the *American* and *Greyhound*, in the corresponding letter to Madras we find a statement that the Company had come to an agreement with the owners, and new charterparties were being forwarded, for transmission to the Bay for the guidance of the factors, 'either in lading the said ships, if able and sufficient to retorne to England, or otherwise, if found deficient.'

The letter from the Agent and Council at Madras to Bengal, transmitting the Company's instructions, was dated 26 August, 1668. It announced Winter's surrender of the Fort and the reinstatement of Foxcroft. Stress was laid upon the necessity for the early return of the *Loyal Merchant* and *Rainbow*. If sufficient goods for England were not available, saltpetre, cotton yarn, and sugar should be provided to complete the lading. Joseph Hall was being sent to join the staff in Bengal. A supplementary letter, dated three days later, appointed him to the Council there, to rank above Stiles and Vincent.

The failure of the two ships, as also of the two that followed them, to reach Balasore has been already noted. The Bengal factors had therefore no opportunity of carrying out the instructions given them for relading the fleet. The safe arrival of the *Greyhound* at Madras, and her subsequent dispatch to England, have been chronicled in the preceding chapter. The letters she carried from the Bengal factors are unfortunately no longer extant.

As noted on p. 157, Shem Bridges (for reasons given later) and Townsend proceeded in the *Greyhound* to Madras, where the former took his seat in Council as temporarily Second. In that capacity he signed the letter to the Company of 23 January, 1669, which contains some references to matters in Bengal. In urging the necessity for the supply of a larger stock for investment, the letter says:

> The same advice is sufficiently also represented by Mr. William Blake etc. from the Bay, and that for want of supplys your servants there are discouraged and weary of the place, as well for that as for the affronts they receive to their interruption without redresse, with[out] some effectuall orders from you in the case.

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Blake was described as a man of ability, and confidence was expressed that upon his return to England he would be able to make a satisfactory reply to the charges against him. He had written to Madras,

in regard he finds himselfe uncapable to imbark himselfe this yeare, and hath desired our sense and order about that clause in your letter wherin you give him, according to his desire, liberty to imbark in the first ship, but do not positively order it; therfore it is his opinion that he is not obliged to surrender to any person untill he do imbark; but delivering it only as his opinion, he referrs the matter to be fully discussed by us and awaites our result [i. e. resolution] and orders. Upon which we have in Councell seriously debated your owne order, a letter from the Governour, Deputy, and Mr. Rowland Winn to Mr. Bridges in particular, as also what Mr. Blake himselfe alleageth, and what further Mr. Bridges offered. It was our opinion that your intention was that Mr. Bridges should this yeare enter upon the Cheifship, and therfore have so ordered it.

March was praised as 'a very ingenious and knowing person in your businesse and hath that commendation of all men, and none understands the businesse of Cassumbuzar (when Mr. Powell shall remove) better then he'. The omission of his name from the list of factors whose salaries were to be increased was thought to be due to the want of 'a friend in court', and he was warmly commended to the Company's notice. The behaviour of Stiles [1] was censured; but it was judged that the punishment inflicted upon him was too severe; and as his ability and integrity were not disputed, the Council had 'thought fitt that he should returne againe to the Bay in the same station he was'.

In the separate letter from Bridges to the Company mentioned on p. 158 he said that the Company's letter did not reach Balasore until 13 November, and then he was so fully employed in lading the *Greyhound* that he had no time to inquire into the charges against Blake. He would, however, do so and send the result by the next shipping, when Blake himself would presumably go home. It would not be an easy task, for Blake,

fearing the storm coming, had, for some months before the notice of your ships arrivall, taken from the Banians at Hugly and Balla-

[1] He too had come to Madras to plead his cause in person.

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sore and burnt all such accompts and papers as he judged might be usefull against him; by which means he has defeated me of making so strict a disquisition as I purposed.

After receiving the Company's instructions, Bridges, finding that Blake intended to stay, consulted secretly his colleagues at Balasore as to his course of action. It was suggested that, upon the departure of the *Greyhound*, he should assume the post of Agent; but this he was averse from doing, and, in accordance with the general opinion, he decided to repair to Madras and procure an order to that effect from the Agent and Council. In his opinion Blake would be found guilty on most of the charges made against him, as also of 'some other entries and overratings' in the books now sent home.

Some of his charges I must need say were superfluous, but they will amount to no great matter; for the expences in the Bay, through the distance from the court and corruption of governors, run high, and are not to be born by a small trade. . . . Persons in government will be taken notice of and presented, and it must not be done unseasonably, nor too penuriously, to cause aggravation.

For his own part Bridges promised to use 'all convenient frugality' and to do his utmost to reduce expenses. One matter he felt bound to mention, lest the 'relation' he sent privately to one of the Committees two years before should be judged to have been inspired by mere malice.

When Mr. Blake and myself went down for the Bay in March 166⅔, he received at Metchlepatam from Tap Tap [1] two boxes,[2] skinned over, directed in Persian characters to the Nabob, Mier Jumlah; who being deceased about the time of our arrivall at Ballasore, the boxes were not delivered. For about two yeers they continued untouched in the factory and undemanded; whereupon Mr. Blake, supposing no owner would appear, or at least desirous there should not, privately causes them to be uncased (and perchance, as it may well be suspected, perused), and afterwards covered over with gunny and sealed. But at last, coming to understand that the act had reached my ear, among other discourse he falls into this of the boxes, that they were uncased and covered over with gunny, least the characters should have been read and caused not only their demand but the pretence of a great deal more, and that he supposed them by their weight to be fine chints

[1] See the 1661–4 volume, p. 40.

[2] Subsequent correspondence shows that there was also a separate parcel.

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only, which were of no great value, the boxes being small; but if they should be known to be in the house, we might be troubled with demands and pretences of things of greater value. Yet afterwards he accidentally and unawares said he supposed there might be jewells of a considerable value in them (as I had before heard him say Tap Tap told him at Metchlepatam, and shewed him a small pot of jewells that he intended to send by him); and since then has been very urgent with me to joyne with him in opening of them. If he intended Your Worshipps benefit herein (as perchance he will now pretend), why did he not proceed with the knowledge of those in Councell with him? And if he proposed none to himself, what need was there of ripping of the skins, which cannot be put on again? But to have prevented any persons reading of the characters, the skins might have been covered with gunny, as the boxes now are. If Mamood Izzuff, that was Governor of Ballasore, had lived, who was much incenst against Mr. Blake, Your Worshipps credit and affaires had ere this time suffered for this unhandsome act; for he was fully resolved to have cut us out a peece of trouble, by acquainting Mamud Aminee Caun (the son of the deceased Nabob) therof, he having got notice of the busines from some of the factory servants. It has been severall times bruited that Mamud Aminee Caun was to come Nabob for Bengall;[1] and tis certainly believed that, whenever Shausteh Caun shall be recalled or decease, this will be the person that will succeed him. So that your servants and estates may suffer very much for this fact, for he will never want those that will enforme him of it. Moors will never want will, where they can find an occasion to get mony, and pretend damages where none are. Though he may not have been wronged, yet hee'le be sure to say he is, the boxes having been uncased; which will be an argument to the nations disrepute. I have acquainted the Agent and Councell hereof, and hope they will cause Mr. Blake to sign bond, before his going home, to save the Honourable Company indempnified from what damages may hereafter ensue from the Moors claimes.[2]

While Bridges was thus attacking Blake, he was himself being accused in an anonymous letter, sent home by the *Rainbow*, a copy of which will be found on p. 65 of the third volume of *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*. It was addressed to Sir William Thomson and Mr. Maurice Thomson, and was evidently written by one of the

[1] See the 1661–4 volume, p. 402.

[2] For another statement by Bridges concerning this matter see *O.C.* 3288.

factors in Bengal, who, in view of the subject matter, was anxious to conceal his identity. It expressed surprise that the Company should

pull downe Mr. Blake for cheating them (as they say) and yet set up Mr. Bridges, who . . . ought to be responsible for one third of what Mr. Blake shall be condemned in, for to my knowlidg (that have seene his books) Mr. Blake had but two-thirds and he one-third of what monies was gained between them on the Companies goods; and this I can sware to, and will sware it when I see Mr. Bridges also laid asside, for it is no reason Mr. Blake should pay the whole.

Blake's treatment of Stiles had shown how dangerous it was for a factor to dispute with his chief, and this was the reason why the writer had kept silent in the matter. As for Bridges,

the Companie might have staied untill he had had a beard on his face before they had made him Cheife of foure factories. Mr. Henrie Powell had been much the fittinger man, an elderlie, sollied, serious person, one who would doe the Companie verrie good service. I see in Mr. Bridges his letter he desires Their Worships would let him come home. It is well the man knowes when he has gott enough by Theire Worships. I have written to Mr. Samuel Barnardiston, discovering the conveniences that will insue to the Companie thereby.

Charges made in this manner are naturally suspect; but the letter has a ring of honest indignation and, knowing what we do about the easy morality of the factors, it seems not unlikely that Bridges had been a sharer with Blake in profits made at the Company's expense.

Another private letter making charges against Blake was sent home by Matthias Vincent. It was dated 22 January, 1669, and was addressed to John Jolliffe (Deputy Governor, 1666–7). The writer thanks Jolliffe for the favour he had shown him, 'through the mediation of my brother,[1] Mr. James Innes,' and promises to try to deserve the latter's encomiums. He then passes on to review certain transactions in Bengal. He alleges that Blake sold the *Matthew and Thomas*, in obedience to the Company's orders and on

[1] Meaning 'brother-in-law'. This might imply either that Vincent had married a Miss Innes, or that Innes had married a sister of Vincent. The name of the latter's first wife has not been ascertained.

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the plea that she was unfit to carry the Company's goods from Hūgli to Balasore, but bought her himself (under another name) 'at an under rate, and then it was not dangerous for the Companies goods to come downe from and go up to Hughly on her'. Further, finding the usual rate of freight not sufficiently profitable, he privately sent orders to Balasore that more should be given in the case of that vessel. Again, 7,000 rupees out of the 30,000 charged against Trevisa ought really to be recovered (with interest) from Blake, for the following reasons.

When Mr. Blake went home in 1659 he had in his hands bills of debt owing by Shah Shusah, the Prince of Bengalla, to the amount of 6,000 rupees and odd, which he sold at his departure to some merchants of this countrey at something under rate. Now the law of these nations is in such a case that, if a merchant cannot recover in what is due on such bills, that he shall returne them to the person of whome he bought them and receive his money againe without interest. Those merchants went up to Rajamaull, where the Prince kept his court, but, troubles ariseing and at last he being beaten out of the countrey, they perceived the bills not recoverable; whereupon at Pattana, that being the place of their abode, they demanded the money of Mr. Chamberlayne (then Cheife there), presenting their bills to him. He refuseth to pay it, alleadging Mr. Blake was a particular [i. e. private] man and none of the Companies servant. But all would not doe; they cite him before the Nabob of Pattana,[1] by whose sentence he was forced to pay the money. This sume Mr. Trevisa takes up of the Dutch, chargeing the Company with a bill of exchange and adviseing them that Mr. Blake must reimburse them; which hee in England refuseth, pretending he had sold the bills and that therefore nothing was due from him (though they were not worth a farthing) and concealeing in the meanetime the different custome of this countrey from all others. This answer the Company (as they might well) held reasonable, and therefore blow upon the bill; whereupon 'tis sent protested over to Bengall againe, where it arrived much about the time with Mr. Blake; when hee, least his foul play should bee too apparent, causes Mr. Trevisa (whose accounts he was to examine) to make this 7,000 rupees paid out of the Companies cash (in his bookes) to the Dutch;[2] which with that mony ordered to be paid to Signor Sikes [Six?], the Dutch Chiefe at Cassambuzar, makes up the summe he is now charged

[1] Apparently Dāūd Khān.

[2] See the preceding volume, p. 262.

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with; but whither it is made paid all to Sikes I am not able to advise, haveing never had the priviledg to see those bookes. That by makeing our applications to any Nabob of Bengalla it should be probable (though Mr. Blake to the Company at his coming out made light of it) that the present of rupees 3,000 at Hughly should be remitted (tis true by our own folly it was incurred; but it will require not only a great deale of wisdome, but also a right timeing of our adresses at the Great Kings court to get it released), it is hugely questionable; for all those Nabobs are the Kings lieutenants in their severall stations, and the Moores have an inviolable custome not to petition their master for anything which brings the least shew of disadvantage to him. And this being the only acknowlidgment he hath from us in Bengall (what presents Governors etc. have signify nothing as to him, being conveyed into privett coffers), tis with the uttermost of improbability that by any Nabob wee should bee able to get it released. Its true phirwannas or orders wee may have under their hands to trade without interruption; but these are only pro libitum, or at farthest extent as long as they governe, and must be maintained (like the Popes bulls and indulgences) at a continued and many times an excessive charge. Things for presents have cost the Company deere. . . . Had any but the Chief been the merchant that had things suiteable to sell for that use, they might have beene afforded much more reasonable.

Vincent goes on to express regret that (owing to Trevisa's mismanagement) the Company had placed Bengal again under the Coast Agency; for ever since the stock allotted to the Bay by the Company had been abridged, the money turned into goods, 'and those sent down a great part druggs and not vendible under eight months time, which makes us buy goods dear.' All this would be prevented if ships were consigned direct to Bengal. As regards the proposed factory at Dacca, no doubt the sale of goods there would defray establishment charges,

if the freedome of vending be not impeded by that covetuous Nabob (of which their is not much fear, if Englishmen reside there); but it can never be expected the charges at his court in preferring our complaints from all factories in Bengall and Orixa can be so defrayed. There is the best manufacture of cloth now in Bengall in the towns adjacent, of a yarde and halfe wide, close cloth; and without doubt in time may make them of the lengths this yeare required by the Companie. Observing the Dutch, how great not only their credit is, having continually shipping in these seas, in

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a manner commanding a trade, but alsoe how great proffit the negotiating too and from this countrey, from Japaon to Bengalla, from China to Cost Chormondell, etc. brings their Company, and how availeable it is to Holland, they needing so much the lesse stock thence,[1] makes me consider how the Honourable English Company may have the like, and so raise their repute, which in these countreys is almost at the last gaspe. The South Seas the Hollander calls himselfe lord of, and therefore I suppose little good to be done there; for indeed they are very numerous in those quarters. But from Bengall to Persia with sugars and goods on freight, to bring back abassees: to the Maldivaes and Achin with rice, to bring back cowries or bougies[2] and dust gold: is a free trade and without doubt would prove proffitable voyages.

Further particulars on this subject will be sent the following year; and meanwhile Vincent begs 'that my name may not be up for what I have here written you, that being no little discouragement to write anything home'.

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1669

OXENDEN's first care, after his return from Bombay early in February, was to complete the lading of the *Bantam* pink and dispatch her to Bantam. She sailed accordingly towards the end of the month, carrying a letter, dated 24 February, which contained no fresh news; and she reached her destination on 20 April following.

On 14 and 24 August, 1668, the Company had dispatched letters overland to Surat; and as we may suppose that these arrived at the latest by the spring of 1669, it will be appropriate to give here some account of their contents. In the first it was intimated that, since many letters sent overland had miscarried lately (possibly, it was thought, through interception by friends of the French), for the future the only subjects mentioned would be the investments for the next fleet and the state of affairs in Europe. In replying overland the Surat factors should be equally careful. The orders for goods sent by the last fleet were confirmed, with the addition of 13,000 pieces of various kinds of calico; and an intimation was given that about 1,200 tons of shipping, with a stock of 70,000*l.*,

[1] This point is admirably brought out by Mr. Moreland in his *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (pp. 63–7).

[2] *Buzios*, the Portuguese name for cowries.

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would be dispatched the ensuing season. With the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, tranquillity had been restored in Europe, though whether it would last was doubtful. The King of Poland had notified his intention of abdicating. After noticing the death of Lucas and the negotiations for an abatement of the customs paid at Surat, the letter intimated that for 1669 the supply of seed-lac and shell-lac should be reduced to 50 bales of each. A similar reduction should be made in the case of coffee, 'and that to bee very good or send us none, for the last proved very badd (the Turkey coho being better).' Complaint was made of mistakes in marking bales, and measures to prevent this were ordered. No letters had been received overland from India, nor had the *Charles* arrived. The number of pieces of 'tapseiles' packed in each bale was to be reduced in future.

The dispatch of a second letter only ten days after the first was due to the receipt (on 17 August) of the Surat letter of 22 January, 1668. Its contents related mostly to Bombay (as will be noticed in the next chapter), but a few variations were made in the list of goods required from Surat. Since indigo was cheap, 200 bales of the Lahore variety were to be provided at the market rate; if procurable at a rupee or under per lb., this quantity might be increased to 400 or 500 bales. No benzoin was to be sent home, unless very good in quality and reasonable in price. 'The trade to Guinea being now open,' the supply of brawls, narrow chintzes, and Guinea stuffs should be increased by 22,000 pieces in all.

On 15 March a consultation was held, at which it was resolved to establish factories at Achin and Queda. Gray was chosen to be Chief at the former place, with Chown as second and Ward as Third. Thomas Davis was to proceed in the *Charles* to Queda as Chief, with John Portman as Second; Davis would be recommended to the Company for employment in their service, and in the meantime was allotted a salary of 30*l*. For Achin the *Nakdi* was hired; and it was arranged that the *Charles* should go with her to her destination, before proceeding to Queda. Gray's instructions were dated 19 April, and Davis's six days after, and both vessels started about the latter date.

On 27 March a letter was sent overland to the Company. No copy of this has survived; but some at least of its contents can be inferred from the reply (postscript to letter to Surat of 16 February,

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1670: *Letter Books*, vol. iv, p. 313). It notified the intention of sending ships to Achin and Queda; also the Dutch protest against English trade at Cannanore. A complaint was made of the want of sufficient stock. The deaths of Fleetwood, Pett, and Aucher were advised; and an intimation was given that various proposals of employment had been made to Gary, but he had declined them.[1] Some information was supplied as to the progress of the French, and as to the measures taken at Bombay.

At a consultation held in Surat on 21 June it was decided to authorize 'the Cuttaree[2] factor for our Agra goods' to spend 4,000 rupees to secure, if he could, exemption for the future from payment of customs at Broach.

It was also moved to the Councell that, the Companies affaires being subject to many obstructions by reason of the Governours and other officers att Surratt, who, whenever their pride or selfe interest prompted them, were ready to impose grosse injuries and impediments on our gennerall bussiness, especially in the monsoone time, unless they were continually fedd with presents equall to what are given them by the French and Dutch, who make large piscashes to unreasonable vallue. To remedy this evill noe way was deemed more suteable and effectuall then to keepe a vakeel or emmissary, either Banian or Cuttaree or other, constantly at court at the Companies charge, att 400 rupees per annum, whose bussiness should bee to present our arzdas [*Arz-dāsht*, a petition] and complaints constantly to the King and Great Vizier, and on all occations procure us justice and the preservation of our priviledges; which, in regard the charge was not great, was consented unto; and it was hoped twould be as well a check upon the Governour and officers, as alsoe be a meanes to furnish us with constant seasonable advices from court, such as may prove of great security and advantage to the Honourable Companye.

The next event of importance was the death of Sir George Oxenden. He had long been ill, but at the end of June he had seemed much better, and Aungier, writing then to Capt. Toldervy at Bombay, expressed very hopeful views as to his recovery.

When I received your letter our honoured President lay under some apprehensions of danger, his disease and weaknesse growing upon him. But, blessed bee God, hee is hitherto preserved and in

[1] Among them the post of a justice at Bombay, and 'to goe Cheife for Acheene' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2, p. 59).

[2] See a note on p. 80 of the 1661–4 volume.

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very hopefull termes of recovering his perfect health and strength. Hee hath had a shrewd and severe tryall for three months, and hath experimented the skill of all the doctours and chirurgions hereabouts. His disease is only an universall weaknesse, which hath brought him very low in body; but his heart and courage is greate and manly, and hee hath a good stocke of inward naturall heate and spiritt, which hath hitherto supported (under God) the extremities of a dangerous disease, attended with two as dangerous relapses. At present, God bee thanked, hee hath all the happy symptomes of health, and I trust in a short time will recover his strength.

The hopes thus affectionately expressed were not realized, and on 14 July Oxenden breathed his last. The Surat letter of 26 November reported the sad event to the Company in the following terms:

The great and just God, who hath of late years given you so many prosperous successes under the prudent conduct of your worthy President, Sir George Oxinden, hath bin pleasd (in mercy, we hope) to lay a severe check on your trade and interest by depriving you and us of him. After a teadious tryall of neer four months under a consumptive disease which had long seized him (wherein yet he had many hopefull intervalls of recovery), he departed this life the 14 July last, to your and our unvalluable loss and the unspeakable greife of the Governour and all the officers and merchants in Surat, among whom his language, wisdome, and obliging deportment hath rendred him highly honnoured. The next day he was enterred with all possible solemnity; the French Director and Dutch Comandore attending the corps on foot, with an incredible number of people, so universally was his loss apprehended by all.

Another glimpse of the funeral ceremony is given by a passage in the letter by Streynsham Master printed in *Hedges' Diary* (vol. ii, p. 307), which says:

The manner of our burying is soe decent that the natives (who are allsoe very decent in that particular), though they may not come near a dead corps, by reason they esteeme it a polluting or defiling themselves, nay, to some it is pollution to see, hear, or speake of a corps, yet they will behold our buryalls; and at the funerall for Sir George Oxinden the streets, belconys, and tops of the houses were soe full as they could stand one by another.

Amid these demonstrations of respect and sympathy the sad

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procession wended its way to the English cemetery, where the dead President was laid to rest beside his brother Christopher. The stately mausoleum [1] that was erected over their remains—doubtless by the care of their two nephews, Streynsham Master and Henry Oxenden—still stands as a memorial of one of the greatest of the Surat Presidents. At the time of his death, Sir George was only in his fiftieth year.

Though the loss was a serious one, Oxenden had a worthy successor in the youthful [2] Gerald Aungier, who, at a consultation held on 17 July, stepped into the vacant place, as being the senior member of the Council. Master became Second in Council and Accountant; while James, the Marine Purser, was chosen to succeed to the Council. The letter of 26 November continues:

On the 18 following, being the Lords Day, after divine service and prayers for a blessing on our faithfull endeavours in your service, Gerald Aungier (having till then deferred it) received Sir George Oxindens commission publickly, with the generall freindly salutations of all your servants in Surat; which was afterwards confirmed by the respectfull applications of the Deputy Governour, Councill, and officers of your island Bombay, which did not come without their passionate risentments for the untimely loss of their so much honoured Governour. Nor have the Governour or Kings ministers in Surat failed in their freindly ceremoniall congratulations; desiring the continuance of our freindship and promising all ready complyance in the dispatch of your goods, together with their assistance on all occasions that may concerne your benefitt. So that we have reason to bless God on your behalfe for His continued providence over your action that, notwithstanding the vast debt for which we stand engaged at interest for you, to the amount of 60,000*l.* sterling (taken up by your late President for the carrying on the investments in all places), notwithstanding so grand a revolution in goverment (on which usually fatall influences doe attend), your affairs have not suffred any discomposure, but continue in the same quiet settlement and reputation as your late worthy President left them.

On 29 July it was decided by the Council to sell to Khwāja Minaz

[1] For an account of it, and copies of the two inscriptions, see Murray's *Bombay Handbook* (1881), pp. 317–18.

[2] The date of his birth is not known, but he appears to have been under thirty at the time of his succession. Master was about the same age.

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all the ordinary broadcloth expected by the next fleet (except the proportion required for the Malabar factories) at 4¾ rupees per yard, 100 pieces of fine broadcloth at 40 per cent. advance on the invoice prices, and 250 pieces of damaged perpetuanoes (remaining on hand) at 20 rupees each. Nine days later a bargain was struck with Mīrza Ma'ṣūm, son of Hāji Zāhid Beg (' who dyed some months since '), for all the copper, quicksilver, vermilion, alum, and tin either in hand or expected by the next ships. Vīrji Vora had also made an offer, but would not agree to the tin being included. This selling of goods in advance was a new practice on the part of the factors, who were partly influenced by the fear that French and Portuguese imports might depress prices. In explaining the matter to the Company they said that the willingness of the buyers to conclude the second bargain was due, not to

any advantage they could make by the sale of the goods, but partly emulation and cheifly in regard they both are prodigious moneyd men who, having alwayes vast treasure ready in house, doe esteeme it safer invested in such sollid unperishable comoditys, though they get but 4 and 6 per cent. by them, then either in cash or at interest or avog ;[1] for here in this country there are noe firme estates in land to be purchased, the whole country being the Kings and not held by any tenure.

The difficulty in disposing of the tin was ascribed to its being of coarser alloy than that brought from Achin ; it was used chiefly ' in triming of potts ', for which a fourth of the quantity received would suffice.

The fleet dispatched to Western India in the spring of 1669 consisted of the *Sampson*, of 380 tons (commanded by Samuel Chamblett), the *Bombay Merchant*, of 370 tons (under George Erwin), the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*, of 340 tons (under Robert Medford), and the *George*, a small vessel of about 180 tons, intended for local service, commanded by William Bass. As they had on board a number of passengers (besides stores) for Bombay, they were directed to touch first at that island ; and the result was that, although the *George* on 5 October [2] brought to Surat the news of the fleet's arrival in Indian waters, it was not until twelve days later, when the other three ships reached Swally, that the President and Council received

[1] See the 1665–7 volume, p. 202 ; also p. 195 below.

[2] See the captain's letter of 5 October for an account of the voyage.

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the Company's dispatches. It is true that a short letter (dated 12 February) had been brought by the *George*; but this contained little more than a list of the goods and money on board, invoiced at 697*l.* in all.

Two letters, both dated 10 March, were received by the fleet. The second merely covered a list of queries by the auditor and gave a caution that more care and frugality would be expected in future. The other was the usual lengthy letter of advice and instruction, relating in great part to Bombay. It began by answering the letters from Surat of 22 January, 28 March, and 15 April, 1668. The intrigues of the Dutch to secure a monopoly of the Malabar pepper trade must be defeated by establishing or continuing the factories in those parts and by inducing the merchants to bring their pepper thither, if necessary, by a circuitous route. However,

wee doe hope there will bee a better understanding betweene us and the Dutch as to commerce in India [i. e. the East Indies]; for that there is not only a peace concluded and (as wee advised you) a nearer allyance betweene His Majestie and them, but a treaty on foote as to the making of the said alyance more neare and firme, and some explanatory and aditionall articles as to a treaty marine, for the prevention of misunderstandings betweene the subjects of both; which may extend in perticuler unto India also.

Renewed efforts were urged to obtain 'dungarees' and 'parcolloes', because they 'are of great use in Europe'. The competition of the French must not be lightly regarded, for although at first the results may not be commensurate with their great outlay,

yet the French King doth soe much encorage that Company and furnisheth them with mony, desiring to bring the trade of India to his kingdome, that there hath bin 3 or 4 ships preparing this season for severall parts of India; and having found their way, by the arriveall of their ship *John* (about twoe moneths since) wee beleive they will goe on in that trade.

The complaints against Flower were noted, but Rolt's report would be awaited before taking further action. Flower had written to vindicate himself and had declared that, notwithstanding the badness of trade, he had secured 700 *tūmāns* for the Company's share of the Gombroon customs and had sent goods and money to Surat to the value of 1,700*l.* The desired report as to 'what wee

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might doe to right ourselves upon the Persians' was awaited, 'there being now a likelyhood that one article betweene His Majestie and the Dutch will bee such that, in case wee should engage against the Persians, the Dutch shall not assist in furnishing them with shipping.' Since the want of 'young writers' at Surat had often been mentioned, four apprentices [1]—John Float, George Robinson, Lambert Daniell, and Nicholas Hearne—were sent. They had been bound for five years, and were to be given five pounds a year each, 'to buy them clothes'. As regards their existing employees, the Company announced an important change of system.

Having taken into our serious considerations whither wee should send any more factors, being persons of age, abillities, and quallitie so as to preceed others already in our factories, both in your Presidencie and in our other Agencies, and having perused the list of all that are in our service in all parts of India, wee doe not only find that there are a sufficient nomber, but such whome wee hope are of abillities to manadge our affaires. And therefore wee have resolved to forbeare the sending of such persons this yeare and also for the future, unlesse it bee to such places where wee shall find our affaires not to bee well manadged; intending for the time to come to leave the displacing and placing of persons more fully to our Presidents, Agents, and Counsells (only reserving to ourselves to make alterations, as wee shall see cause), and also to have persons raised up by degrees, according to their deservings, from one place to another there, and only to send from hence young men or youthes, to bee trained up in our busines; for wee have observed the advantage that others have by this way, in the knowing and well manadgment of affaires, by encoraging young men, in hopes of preferment, to bee sober, industrious, and faithfull. Wherefore wee require you, our President and Counsell, that you in your owne persons doe behave yourselves soe as to bee patternes of piety and sobriety, and that you aply yourselves to the manadgment of our affaires with all industry and faithfullnes. And though wee would have persons continued in their places (as wee have directed) so long as they behave themselves well therein, yet if you find any of our factors (that are not of Counsell) to bee unfaithfull, unable, slothfull, negligent, swearers, or deboiched, then wee hereby give you, our President and Councell, power to remoove such persons from their imployments and to dispose of them in

[1] For their engagement see the Court Minutes of 20 January, 1669.

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such other meaner services as you shall find them capeable off; unlesse you find them noe waies capeable for our service, and in such case to send them for England, with full proofes of their misdeameanors, and to apoint such others of our servants to succeed them, and to fill up such places as from time to time shall bee vacate, as you shall find fitt for the respective imployments; and herein to have respect to the next in succession, according to their present degrees, unlesse there bee just cause of exception for their said preferment; wherein wee require you to act with faithfullnes, without respect of persons, in the promoting of those that shall bee most able and fitt for the places whereunto you shall apoint them; that so all of a lower ranck, seeing preferment to follow desert, without favour or affection, may bee incoraged in the feare of God, sobriety in their conversations, industry and faithfullnes in their imployments, and to learne the language of the country, and the atteyning of such experiences as may bee for our service and their preferments. And in case of mortallity of our President from time to time, wee doe apoint the next person in place to succeed him till our further order. And though wee hope our President and Counsell will behave themselves so as becomes them in their places, yet if any of them shall bee irriligeous, unfaithfull, deboiched, ignorant, or negligent, or by age or weaknesse become unable for the manadgment of their places, then wee require, and apoint it as a standing order, that the rest which are in Counsell, in all faithfullnes to us, doe acquaint us with such their conditions and behaviour, sending us the perticulers thereof attested under their hands, that thereupon wee may give such directions therein as wee shall see cause. And, that our Counsell may bee kept up to the full nomber that wee have apointed, in case any place become vacant, wee would have the person that is next in degree to fill up the place and to act as one of the Counsell, untill wee shall give further directions therein. And in all such cases wee require you to certifie to us the quallification and fittnes or unfittnes of such person for the imployment, that wee may bee the better informed what to order therein. Upon receipt of this our order, wee require you to summon all our factors and servants and cause it to bee publiquely read unto them; and afterward once every yeare publiquely also.

After a long excursus about Bombay (noticed in the next chapter), the letter proceeded to detail the cargoes of the three ships. These comprised broadcloth (12,758*l.*), copper (11,787*l.*), coral (14,877*l.*), silver in ingots and rials (21,348*l.*), quicksilver (6,200*l.*), tin (3,978*l.*),

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lead (3,169*l.*), alum (442*l.*), fine broadcloth (557*l.*), 'cloth rashees' (445*l.*), and sundries (186*l.*); total, 75,747*l.*[1] The quantities of 'Europe goods' had been increased, in order to avoid the exportation of bullion, and the factors were urged to do their best to increase the sale of broadcloth and tin, 'although you sell them the cheaper'. In the case of tin the Company would be content to recover its prime cost with interest from the date of arrival; and information was desired whether 'blocks or small barrs' (both kinds having been sent) proved the more saleable.

The tynn is the same, but the charge in casting and barrells is about 4*s.* per cent.; and whither the natives can cast it cheaper and more to their liking, that you will find upon the place. For though formerly they would have it ready cast in Turkey, yet of late they rather desire to have it in blocks and to cast it themselves; and wee would send it in that condition in which it will best vend and wee best afford it; for 4*s.* in the cent. proffitt may cause us to send, and 4*s.* in the cent. losse will cause us to forbeare.

The *Sampson* might be allowed a larger proportion of kentledge than prescribed in her charterparty, if necessary to improve her sailing, the ship being 'lofty'. It was hoped that the cargoes ordered for the return voyage had been provided. Lac, turmeric, or saltpetre should not be included. If any increase were necessary, it should be in cowries. One of the ships should, if possible, be dispatched homewards in October. For the 1670 season about 1,200 tons of shipping would be sent from England, and a long list was given of the goods to be provided for the return ladings. In future cowries would be drawn from Surat instead of Bengal, as suitable kentledge was more available in the latter parts than in the former. Saltpetre was too dear at Surat for the purpose; sugar was not worth bringing home; and red earth was in small demand. It was true that cowries were cheaper in Bengal; but possibly the factors could procure a direct supply from the Maldives and thus reduce the cost. The cargoes were to be completed with pepper, of which 'as much as procureable' should be sent; while benzoin or some other vendible commodity might be used as kentledge, if necessary. Information was given as to the fleet sent to Madras, and to the instructions issued to the Agent for the settling of a factory at Achin; also as to the dispatch of ships to Bantam. All

[1] For invoices see *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 15, pp. 167, 182, 194.

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'dead stock' should be turned into money as far as possible, and any unnecessary houses should be sold. At the request of King Charles, orders were issued for sending home twelve young spotted deer for him, three of them to be males. A supply of mum, wine, and oil had been provided; also knives, &c., for presents. Inquiry was made whether 20,000*l.* worth of coral would sell yearly, and at what price. This commodity being obtained from Italy, a higher rate of profit would be necessary than in the case of 'native commodities'. The debts of Somaji Chitta and 'Choutridas' should be dealt with 'according to equitie and justice', but with a due regard to their former misdemeanours. At the request of the brothers of Christopher Hatton, 'that hath bin some time in Pegu', the Company had agreed to permit him and his servant to return to England in their ships; as for his estate, he might either pay in money in exchange for bills, or else bring home jewels under the existing regulations. The Madras ships having sailed, word must be sent thither from Surat as to this arrangement. Ventures to Japan and the Philippines being under consideration, any information regarding those trades would be welcomed. Complaint was made that the papers of the late John Lambton had not been sent home. His brother Ralph had been allowed to take his passage in the outgoing fleet, and both he and Richard Lambton were to be assisted in recovering debts due either to them or to their late brother.

Being desirous to promote the vent of India silks as much as may bee, and taking the opinion of the retailers thereof what would best vent, wee are informed that those dyed here doe better please then those dyed in India; and therefore desire you to send us 200 peeces Amadavad taffataies, white, in the naturall collours and in the gumm, that so they may bee here washt and dyed into severall collours, as shall bee most in use.

All loans at interest should be paid off as early as possible. Former orders were reiterated that all matters should be communicated to, and settled by, the Council. Sixteen chests of 'extraordinary waighty ryalls'[1] had been sent, and a corresponding advance in price was expected. The United Joint Stock was to be assisted in recovering a debt from Thākursi. Directions were given regarding certain prohibited goods taken out by Josias Smith, chief mate of the *Sampson*, and efforts were urged for the discovery of other private trade.

[1] The 'due waight of a ryall of eight' was stated to be 17 dwt. 8 grains.

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The disposal of the newly arrived ships was the first matter for consideration at Surat. It was decided to send the *George* to Persia, laden chiefly with freight goods. The *Humphrey and Elizabeth* was to go to Calicut to fetch the pepper accumulating there; the *Bombay Merchant* was ordered to Kārwār, there likewise to take in pepper; while the *Sampson* was to be laded at Swally with a view to her early dispatch to England. The first two sailed on 26 and 30 October respectively.

On 8 November was debated an offer from 'Rhader Caun,[1] Governor of Ahmadavad, and other merchants there' to buy 6,000 maunds of lead at six rupees per maund, if delivered free of charge at Cambay. Since the price at Surat was only five rupees, while insurance and carriage would cost but half a rupee per maund, it was decided to accept the offer, provided the money was paid beforehand. At the same meeting the silver ingots were sold at 2 mahmūdis 10¼ jītals per tola, and the rials at the usual rate.

In view of the troubles at Bombay (described in the next chapter), Aungier decided to proceed himself to that island in the *Sampson*; but, as recorded in a notice of a consultation held on 21 November,[2]

> the Governour and other minesters of Surratt refused to consent to the Presidents going to Bombay, in reguard the Banians were gon out of the towne and the Portugalls haveing taken two of their joncks and reduced the towne to a distracted condition. Soe resolved that the President deferr his journey till a more seasonable time.

This withdrawal of the chief Hindu inhabitants had taken place two months earlier and had been caused by a persecution initiated by the local *Kāzi*, who was doubtless incited thereto by the general orders issued by Aurangzeb in April, 1669, for the destruction of infidel temples and the suppression of infidel teachings. The incident is thus described in the Surat letter of 26 November.

> While we were praying for the safety and expecting the arrivall of your ships, an unexpected overture happens in Surat, such as was like to put all into confusion and for the present did put a stop on all trade. . . . You have bin formerly advised what unsufferable

[1] Bahādur Khān, the Viceroy of Gujarāt, is intended. He was Aurangzeb's foster-brother, and had commanded the troops employed in the pursuit and capture of Dāra Shikoh.

[2] See also the account given in the letter to the Company of 26 November.

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tyrany the Bannians endured in Surat by the force exercised by these lordly Moors on accompt of their religion; the sweetnes of which the Cozzy and other officers finding, by the large incomes paid by the Bannians to redeeme their places of idolatrous worship from being defaced and their persons from their mallice, did prosecute their covetous avenges with that frequency and furious zeale that the generall body of the Bannians began to groan under their affliction and to take up resolves of flying the country. A nephew of your antient sheroff Tulcidas Parrack was among others inveigled and turned Moor; which was a great heartbreaking to your Bannian servants and some dishonnour to your house. Afterwards, about the 20th September, a Persian scrivan [writer: Port. *escrivão*], who formerly had relation to your family, was forcibly circumcised, for noe other reason but that five years past he had eaten part of a watermellon which the Cozzy had eaten of; which argument, it seems, for want of better served the Cozzys turne; but the poor Bannian, as tis said, killed himselfe for greife. This violent action makes the Bannians sencible of theire common danger, and resolved they are to leave the towne. But before they would undertake it, five of the most eminent, with your cheife broker, Bimgee Parrack, in the behalfe of all the rest came, early on the 22nd, to your servant, Gerald Aungier, declaring, with all the symptoms of an enflamed passion, their miserable condition, imploring his assistance and protection on your island Bombay, in case they did or could fly thither. Gerald Aungier was somewhat surprised at the motion; wherein though he saw a great advantage might accrue to your island, yet the present conjuncture did not appear safe to enter on such an action, in regard you had above 1,200 tuns of goods here in your severall factorys, all which would have bin embargued, your ships loose their voyages and lye on demurrage, and your island Bombay would have become an eyesore to this King, against whose vast forces it would be impossible to defend ourselves, in regard of its naked and weake condition at present. Wherefore, after many obligeing expressions of comfort and assurance of our freindship, he told them that, your ships not being yet arrived, we were in an ill posture to engage in such a great designe, nor was Bombay as yet fortified sufficiently to protect them against the fury of so great a prince; wherefore he advised them to convey themselves at present towards Ahmadavad, and from thence make their generall humble requests to the King, who would certainly ease their present burthen in some degree, though they must never expect to be safe in this country; and hereafter, as occasion offered, they might with more ease and

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security convey their estates and families to Bombay by degrees, where they might assure themselves of all favour, freindship, freedome in their religion, and encouragement in their trade, as they could in reason expect from us. This councill they approved, and after their respectfull thanks and hearty prayers for the Companies prosperity, they took their leaves. And on the 23rd and 24th all the heads of the Bannian families, of what condition soever, departed the towne, to the number of 8,000, leaving their wives and children in Surat under charge of their brothers or next of kinn. At this the Cozzy rages, charging the Governour, in the Kings name, to stop them; who, favouring the Bannians, sends him word they are the Kings subjects and may travell in his country where they please. The Cozzy, to affright them, threatens to pull downe all their remaining churches and to circumcise the most principall of them, if they doe not returne. But the Bannians, growne hardy by often sufferings, defy him, telling him they goe to the King for justice. Some treatys past between them, in order to an accomodation; which proving unsuccessfull, the Bannians, increasing dayly in number, proceed as far as Broach, where they are under safe protection and much courted by the Great Governour of Ahmadavad (whome we may call Lieutenant-Generall of all this province) to settle themselves there; but they rather desire to returne to Surat to their trade and familyes, if they can enjoy any reasonable security. At present severall addresses have bin made to the King, each party using all probable meanes to justify its selfe to the prejudice of the other; the success whereof is not yet determined at court. In the interim the people in Surat suffered great want, for, the Bannians having bound themselves under severe penalties not to open any of their shops without order from their Mahager [1] or Generall Councill, there was not any provisions to bee got; the tanksall [i. e. mint] and customhouse shut; no mony to bee procured, soe much as for house expences, much less for trade, which was wholy at a stand; and so it will continue till their returne.

On 29 November the *Sampson* departed for England, with orders to call at Bombay and St. Helena on the way. She carried a long letter from the President and Council, dated three days earlier. Some extracts from this have already been given, while others will be found in the next two chapters. In addition, the Company was

[1] Mr. Edwardes suggests that *Mahājan*, which is still the term used for a caste-council, is meant.

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informed that Oxenden and his Council had found it necessary, in order to provide ladings for the ships expected in 1670,

not only to enlarge our investments in your severall factorys already settled, to wit in Broach, with the adjoyning places, and in Ahmadavad (where we have bespoke large quantitys of byrampauts, broad and narrow baftaes), but also to commence new investments of severall sorts of cloth in Nundrabaud and other villages adjacent, as also in Carwar [Cambaya?]; from both which places we expect considerable quantitys of goods as soon as the ways are open. To effect and carry on which we were enforced to engage you in a vast debt at interest, to the amount of 600,000 rupees . . . the greatest part whereof is owing to Virgee Vorahs family and other sheroffs in Surat, to the amount of 400,000 ruppes . . . and the remainder . . . is taken up on your credit in Ahmadavad, Nundrabaud, and Cambaya.

It would be seen that the 70,000*l.* promised from England would do little more than discharge the debt and its interest, leaving next to nothing for a further investment; the Company was urged therefore to send out a double stock, at least for one year, in order to carry on the trade in a satisfactory manner. No books had been received from Flower at Gombroon during the past year, his excuse being the lack of assistance. He had advised the receipt of 700 *tūmāns* for customs, but all the goods he had consigned to Surat for three years past came only to 17,000 rupees. However, Rolt, having recovered from his sickness, was about to proceed to Gombroon, and so better results might be expected shortly. The deaths of Aucher, Pett, and Wynn were mentioned. The orders for the due preferment of faithful servants had been 'publikly comunicated at a generall meeting', and would be punctually obeyed. Aungier had continued to act as Accountant until 31 August, when he handed over the books to Master. Until Gray's return from Achin, Master would perform the duties of Warehouse Keeper as well, with the assistance of Charles Smeaton. On hearing from Madras that Achin had been placed by the Company under Foxcroft, orders had been sent to Gray to sell off his stock and return to Surat. Charles James had been added to the Council; while Henry Oxenden was acting as Secretary. All the goods received had been sold, excepting the 'cloth rashes' and the coral. An endeavour would be made to increase the supply of cowries, but this might prove difficult, as the

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Dutch in Ceylon were trying to engross all the trade of the Maldives. The Company's requirements for 1670 had been noted, and the factors would do their best to obtain the respective goods as cheaply as possible.

The interpositions and vyings of the French and Dutch hath made all goods rise upon us very much; which we endeavour to avoid, as much as may be, by seeking out new places; where we had hopes not to be disturbed, but the French follow us wheresoever we goe, and seeme as fond to imitate what we doe in India as we are of theire fashions in England. They use the same way to buy theire goods in [and?] about Agra as we doe, and faine would have dealt with the same men. They use brokers as we doe for their investments at Ahmadavad, Broach, Brodera, Neriad, etc. We were no sooner settled at Nundrabaud but were followed by theire spies. They are settled neer us at Carwar, Billiapatan, and Callecut, and talke high to out both the Dutch and us in time. And without all peradventure, had they not bin kept bare of stock, and by their indiscreet management and quarrells with the natives, and more dishonnourable among themselves, had not weakned their credit, they would have done your trade and interest here much more mischeife, though themselves noe good at present, whatever they aime at in future. They have had four small ships from St. Lawrence this year, brought hither to be doubled, being much eaten with the worme; and so intended to lade corne back. They complaine to have suffered miserable famine there, and say they resolve to leave the island totally, and that they are promised some of the Portugall ports in India; which seems not very improbable. Their honnour is very low here; but if these four ships you mention arrive in time, they will soon recover it, to your further prejudice. The 1000 peeces Baroches you have enorderd we understand to be our allejahs. Formerly indeed Broach was the cheife place of that manufacture, but of late tis come to Surat. Your note speaks them to be five yards long and three quarters and [ ] broad; whereas ours here are seven yards long and about 24 inches broad.

Lahore indigo was 'indifferent cheap', and the factors hoped next year to procure a supply at or under a rupee per pound. The directions that concerned Madras had been forwarded thither. Should Hatton appear at Surat, the Company's instructions would be complied with; 'but we hear he is marryed, and so probably more enclined to a settlement there.' The books now sent would

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show that there was no dead stock which it was possible to dispose of. As for the houses and places ordered to be sold, nobody would give half the amounts they were rated at; however, an endeavour would be made to get rid of them, 'though we are sensible of the breach it will make on your reputation among these people, and of the just jealousy it will give the King and his ministers that you designe to forsake the country'. They were searching for the spotted deer desired by His Majesty. The auditor's queries had been answered in a separate letter. Of the stores advised as sent, the wine and mum had been gratefully received. The oil had apparently been left behind. A supply of about 10 gallons yearly would be very acceptable. Paper, quills, &c., were much needed. The presents would be used with all frugality. The claims of Somaji Chitta and Chhota Thākur were still under examination. Information regarding the Japan trade would be sent later. As for the Philippines, Khwāja Minaz sent his ship *Hopewell* thither last year with a cargo of 15,000*l.* in calicoes, &c.

There is soe great hopes on this voyage that Cojah Meenas and the persons concerned have taken up mony at avog (or bottomarie) thereon at 45, 50, and 60 per cent.; and truly, were it not for the Dutch obstructing them at Malacca, most men here doe conclude it will turne well to accompt. Cojah Carricoos brother, who was with you in England . . . is gon supracargo on the ship, and hath neer one-third of the stock on his owne accompt.

He was expected back by January, and an account of his experiences would be sent by a later ship. The instructions about the Lambtons would be obeyed, though their complaints against Oxenden were judged unreasonable. The desired Ahmadābād taffetas would be sent later. The debt was being paid off as fast as money became available. Vīrji Vora was the first to be considered, and the payment to him of 60,000 rupees, 'when he was in great want thereof, hath added much to your reputation.' Everything was being done in joint consultation, and this was also Oxenden's rule.

When by disease or weaknes the Councell could not goe to him, he hath gon to them and held consultations in their chambers. . . . Only we find that in this he erred, that he did not cause consultations to be entred for every particular matter; which indeed he was avers from, not out of any sinister end . . . but to avoid that needles and unnecessary trouble, as hee calld it, and out of the

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delight he tooke in that assured confidence and trust which you reposed in him. But as we find it an error in him (and often advised him of it), so we shall take care not to fall into the same fault.

As for the charges of partiality to the present brokers, it was open to the Company to order the dismissal of Bhīmji Pārak (the person chiefly aimed at); but the writers felt bound to avow their complete confidence in his integrity and ability, and to bear witness to the valuable services he had rendered. Not long ago he asked to be discharged, in consequence of the charges made against him; and, were it not that his position with the English secured him from 'the tyrany of the Moors' and that he had hopes of settling later at Bombay, he would doubtless have given up the service. As for the other brokers, both at Surat and in the subordinate factories, it was impossible to do without them; but in all cases where an Englishman was on the spot, the broker did nothing without his consent.

If you please to be at the charge to continue an English factory at Ahmadavad, Brodra, and Agra, and Mocha, as formerly, we shall gladly obey your order; but our opinions are that, unless you please also to enlarge your investments exceedingly in those places, the benefit which may accrue to you thereby will not quitt your cost. We had thoughts, since Sir George Oxindens death, to withdraw your factory from Broach also, and have hitherto discontinued it, in regard we find a constant charge of near 200*l.* a year, to little or no advantage to you, either in the prises or dimentions of your goods, and if we call the Bannian to accompt, he charges the Englishman; if the Englishman, he excuses himselfe on the Bannian; whereas the broker could have noe pretence, if he were entrusted. But since we have read this check of yours and find you soe easily susceptible of false suggestions against us, we are unresolved what to doe herein till we hear further from you, and thinke rather to continue it as formerly, least we be still unkindly misunderstood.

A due profit had been obtained on the overweight rials ('which is a thing hath not bin knowne these many years in this towne'). Nothing was ascertainable at Surat about outstanding debts due to the United Joint Stock; but Rolt would be instructed to inquire at Gombroon. As for any such due to the present Stock, the only possible claim would be on account of consulage on private trade in Persia. 'We remember but two ships have bin sent thither since

our time.' One was the *Consent* from Masulipatam, in part of the cargo of which Jearsey, Oxenden, Goodier, and Aungier were interested. Bad markets caused a considerable loss and most of the money was still owing; though the Company benefited by the amount paid as customs on the non-English freight goods. This was before the arrival of the Company's order that two per cent. consulage was to be levied, ' whereas formerly all Englishmens goods were free from all custome '. It was hoped that the Company did not mean to raise a claim to ' penalties on laws before they had a being '. The second ship was the *Diamond*, laden last year from Masulipatam with freight goods, in which again Jearsey had an interest. Aungier instructed Flower to levy the consulage in that case, and doubtless he had done so. The orders regarding the private trade of Josias Smith had been carried out. Endeavours were made to discover other prohibited goods brought in the fleet, but in vain.

We kept our watches out night and day, and hindred the Bannians from going aboard ship till the towne cryed out shame on us and the Governour began to threaten us. The captains did earnestly assure us that they dared not, nor was it their interest to involve themselves and ships freight in trouble by permitting any prohibited goods ; but, whether they said true or noe, we found none, though we doubt not, if we examine the customehouse, but we shall here of some goods of that nature there entred ; but whom or what ship to charge with it will be impossible to find out, for you may please to beleive these people are as ingenious and secret in such matters [as] any whatever that feed on stolen waters.

Having now answered the Company's letters, the writers passed on to discuss other matters.

Ever since the flight of the Bannians the trade of Surat hath sufferd great obstruction ; and tis the opinion of many wise men that it will prove of fatall consequence, to the utter ruine of it, in case the King doth not take some effectuall healing order for the making up this breach. For most of the sheroffs and moneyd men doe thinke of calling [in ?] their stocks and (according to the custome of this country) burying the greatest part under ground ; so the bulke of trade, which is maintained and carryed on cheifly on credit, must necessarily fall. What influence this may have on your affairs your wisdoms will soon discover, if you please to reflect on the slender stock you send us, and consequently the necessity

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of running you at interest for supply of your investments. . . . But this is not the greatest evill, for if this disorder should continue and trade soe much discouraged, we shall find an hard task to put of such great quantities of goods as you send us, and it will be difficult and dangerous for us to sell such great parcells in a lump as we doe now, in regard wee shall not dare to trust so much as formerly, and without trusting and allowance of time none will undertake such great bargaines. But this we only prepare you for, as the worst which we hope can come; and . . . we dare with some assurance tell you that the sooner the trade of Surat declines the sooner will it rise at Bombay. And indeed, were Bombay in a condition to secure your estate and servants, as also the estates of such merchants as should goe to settle there, we should not doubt to perswade you to order your Presidency to be removed thither; but in regard so great an alteration will certainly amuse [i. e. confound] and startle this King and the Governours of Surat and cause some obstruction to your busines, it is necessary that, before we undertake it, we provide for such sortments of goods as this country yeilds us elswhere; which we have already begun by our large investments of cloth of all sorts comenced at Carwar, and are intended to enter on the same at Billiapatan also; and the rather because we find that sort [of] cloth is acceptable in England, and having it in our hands we can order the looms as to the lengths and breadths as we please. The same also we have begun on Bombay itselfe, where an excellent sort of cloth is made, equall to, if not exceeding, ours here at Nunsaree; of which they now make 6,000 peeces a year, and will every year increase; and you need not doubt (under God) but in a short time you will have a good ship laden only with the produce of your island Bombay. When this our designe is ripe, it will be time for you to order our leaving Surat; but till then twill be but an unnecessary and unseasonable discomposure to your affairs, and awaken the jealousy of these people before we are in a good condition to defend ourselves.

The letter then proceeded to detail the goods required from England. In asking for the usual quantity of lead, the following interesting incident is mentioned.

Your late President and Councell had often considered and debated of a way to raise the price of your lead, but could never bring it about till this Governour, Rustum Zemire [Rustam Ẓamīr], an antient acquaintance of Sir George Oxinden since the open trade

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time, came from Agra to take charge of Surat; who, after severall private overtures, came to this agreement that he would use his interest to prevaile with the King to pay a rupee in a maund more then the usuall price of 5 rupees, provided he might have halfe the advantage. This was (since we could not doe better) condescended to and privately resolved on between us; and because the Dutch should not interpose to hinder it, we were forced to engage their Comandore to joine with us, that so their Company might also enjoy (though against our will) the benefit of our labour. The busines was carryed on so farr that some of our money was paid in and all ours and the Dutch lead was weighed of to the Kings warehouse, at the rate of 12 rupees the double maund; and both the Governour and we thought ourselves secure from further trouble. But it lasted not long; for it seemes the Kings broker, not finding himselfe advised with by the Governour, and loosing the benefit he used to reap, discovers the plott; and within a few days after Sir Georges death an order comes from court to anull the bargaine and to bring the lead to the old price, and the Governour is forced to answer publiquely that and other actions of his. Whereupon he comes, with the Shawbunder, Vokanavise,[1] and other great officers, to your house and there, after a great pichar [investigation: *bichār*], the Governour and other officers perswaded us to relinquish the bargaine at present; promising on his word (which we esteeme of no great vallue) that he would procure it againe confirmed from the King to us. And without doubt he hath wrott very effectually concerning it, and we also have used our interest at court to bring it about againe, and had fair hopes of effecting it, had not this unhappy intreague between the Bannians and the Cozzy about religion put that and all our other busines in disorder, and hath so distracted both the court and this towne that, untill that affair be settled, we cannot expect the King or his courtiers will consider of any matters of lesser concerne.

The goods sent home this time were rather dearer, owing to French and Dutch competition. Specimens of yarn from Karmān, in Persia, were transmitted, but they were considered too expensive. Four goats had arrived from thence and would be forwarded (as directed) to St. Helena, 'where we wish their increase'. Thomas Sherlock, a sailor in the *George*, had been taken ashore and sent to Kārwār to assist in writing, &c. He has been ranked as an apprentice, at 5*l.* per annum. Thomas Wilson, the minister, had been

[1] See the previous volume, p. 61.

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allowed to send home 50*l.* in prohibited goods, consigned to the Company, the proceeds of which he wished to be devoted to the maintenance of a kinswoman, who was 'a distressed orphan'. The *Chestnut* was worn out and would be sold, if a buyer could be found; her guns, masts, rigging, &c., had already been disposed of. Two French ships had arrived from Persia, whither they went last year on freight, 'and damaged most of theire goods'. They brought no letter from Flower, but it was understood that he was lying sick at Shirāz and that John Fleetwood was dead.

We hear also that the Portugalls and the Arabs have had a bloody encounter, wherein, by stratagem of a pretended admirall ship but a reall fireship fitted by the Portugalls, they destroyed 500 Arabs; but in the maine fleets, wherein the Portugalls had 4 great ships and 6 frygatts and the Arabs 6 ships and 19 frygatts, the Portugalls lost most of their stoutest white men, their admirall having bin boarded. But in the end the Arabs fly, threatning another encounter, and the Portugall Generall is gon victoriously to Goa, where they are preparing another great armada to goe against Muscat. The merchants of Surat have received great damage by this war; for their ships are seized on and made use of to helpe to both sides, and their goods taken on shore by force and secured; which hath causd great outcrys and lamentings in this towne and will cause many bankerupts. The King of Persia hath, by reason of these troubles, orderd all merchants to leave Cong and goe to Gombroon, and hath comanded no goods to be laden but on English, Dutch, and French ships. . . . The good influence which these warrs in the Gulph may have on your affairs we doubt not but you will apprehend, for we hope by this meanes the whole trade will returne againe to Gombroone, especially now that Bussora is destroyed by the Turks and Arabs.

As for taking warlike measures to secure English rights in Persia, it would not be enough to ensure the neutrality of the Dutch; the French must be induced to take the same attitude, for they were sending ships on freight to Gombroon, and so 'our quarrelling with the Persian will but give them a greater advantage'. The President and Council would prefer to suspend judgement until Rolt had investigated the situation; but they were inclined to advise

that, unless urgent necessity compells you, you would not thinke of making war with any of our neighbours in these parts

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till first your island Bombay be thoroughly fortified and better peopled with English inhabitants then at present it is; which will require time and a larger supply of all things necessary from you before you can expect it will yeild you the desired crop; and when that is once settled, you will be in a better condition to call your neighbors to accompt for past affronts and to bring them sooner to honnourable tearmes with you.

Aungier desired to make a personal request. He had served for six years as Warehouse Keeper at 30*l.*, one year as Accountant at 80*l.*, and now he had 'this weighty burthen' of acting as President until the Company sent out some one more experienced and capable. In that event he would desire to return to England, and his request was for liberty 'to invest that mite with which God hath blessed him in some of your priviledged commodities, which he promises to deliver up to you with a faithfull accompt, and shall cast himself on your goodnes and clemency'. He also gave information that Oxenden, some months before his death, invested in two vessels which he proposed to employ in carrying freight goods to various ports. One, of about 250 tons, he bought at Kalyān Bhiwandi. This he offered to sell to the Company, but the Council, finding that Oxenden had been 'grossly cheated' and that she was badly built, declined her. She was brought to Surat and, coming up the river, was nearly wrecked on 'the flats of Umbra'. The other vessel Oxenden had had built at Surat and was about 400 tons. His executors offered both for sale, and, to maintain English credit, Aungier induced some merchants in Surat to join him in buying them, 'provided they should, for your honour sake, goe still under the English flagg and be employd on freight between Bombay, Surat, and Gombroone, and winter always at Bombay'. The new ship, which had been named the *Loyal Oxenden*, was nearly ready, and it was proposed to send her to Gombroon with freight goods, and afterwards employ her to bring up coir, coco-nuts, pepper, &c., from the Malabar factories. Aungier wished the Company to be acquainted with these transactions, and hoped that they would grant him the same privileges in this respect as they had done to Oxenden. Ralph Lambton had petitioned to be allowed 'the benefitt of your house and table' while settling his brothers' affairs, and further desired to be readmitted to the service; the former request had been granted, and the latter was recommended to the Company. Richard

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Lambton begged also to be considered 'in the same nature'. A change of system had been made in invoicing the cargo of the *Sampson*. Whereas formerly it was the practice to enter the customs charges in a gross sum at the end, these had now been added to the cost of each item. Further, as it was understood that the Company wished that all goods should bear a proportion of Presidency expenses (including salaries), a calculation had been made of these, which came out at three per cent. on the yearly shipments. This addition had accordingly been made to the respective items. Instructions were requested whether the practice should be continued. John Child, who was going to Persia as Second to Rolt, begged for an increase of salary; and increments were also recommended in the case of those factors who had come out with Oxenden. Capt. Chamblett had been induced to allow part of the pepper to be weighed at 'Old Swally', where it had been lodged during the rains. He had objected that the shaking of the carts in taking the pepper a mile to the 'Maryne Warehouse' would cause a loss of weight; if this proved to be so, it was hoped the Company would make allowance accordingly. Packets from the Dutch and French factors were forwarded for transmission to Holland and France. The French Director had begged for a passage for

one of theire Councell who, having bin engaged in the quarrells last year between them, fled to the Portugall country and from thence retired to Bombay, where he hath continued some months and hath wrott severall letters to beg his passage for England; but we have not thought it convenient for us to concerne ourselves as partys in their quarrells.

Since many applications of the kind had been received, instructions were requested whether passages should be granted in such cases. As for spotted deer for the King, only two, both males, could be procured in time to go in the *Sampson*; one had belonged to Oxenden, the other to Aungier. More would be sent, if possible, by the other ships; but 'females are very hard to be gott'. Two of the Karmān goats were being sent to St. Helena. The 'religious oath' prescribed by the Company had been duly taken by Aungier and his Council.

On 3 December a consultation was held, at which was considered a dispute between the Portuguese and the local authorities.

Rustum Zemeir, Governour of this towne, did yesterday summon

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us to the publique durbar, where all the merchants and Kings minnisters were mett in councell; when he did produce some letters wrott unto him from the Governour of Dio, tending to a breach of peace between them, by requiring them to pay 5 per cent. custom at said port of Dio, and allso advising of the seizure of some jouncks belonging to this port; and thereupon he did, in the Kings name, demand our assisstance against them; saying wee were merchants that lived in the port and had received many gracious immunities and privilledges from the King, and therefore were bound to helpe him in case of need, or elce what was the King the better for our residing here; and many the like arguments. To which wee told him that wee were freinds to both nations and ought not to concerne ourselfes in their quarrells, but expected rather, when occassion should offer, to be protected by him; absolutely refusing to ayd them with our shipps and men, as they required. Whereupon he, after many sharpe debates, dismissed us; and this morning sent his broker unto us, to demand our advice what he should write in answer to the Governour of Dios letter. When wee returned him this answer as our opinion: that he should respond to the said Governours letter in the same method as he wrott, and further to tell him he wonderd to receive such an unkind letter from him, being he had allwayes approoved himselfe a freind to the Portugall nation, as by his defferring the giving an accompt to the King of their taking the jouncks appeares, expecting to receive a civill and respectfull answer to his letter which he wrott him about the clearing of them, but in lieu thereof he received the said sharpe letter; which made him resolve to advise the King of the seizure they had made, had not the English, French, and Dutch, as freinds to both, interposed and desired his forbearance, hoping to compose the differences by their mediation.[1] And further sent him word [that] if wee could doe him or the King any kindness in writing to the Governours of Goa, wee would readily doe it.

As we have already seen, it had been decided in October to send the *George* to Gombroon with freight goods, as soon as she had been sufficiently repaired. Delay, however, was caused by the troubles at Surat and the demands of the Portuguese, which induced the Governor to withhold sanction for the shipment of goods. At last, on 9 December, his embargo having been lifted, terms were agreed

[1] Kaeppelin (*La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 63) gives the credit of composing the quarrel to Caron, the French Director.

upon between the Council and the shippers. Payment, it appears, was to be made in piece-goods, at so many ' corge ' (i. e. 20 pieces) per bale. The cargo having been taken aboard, Rolt embarked, accompanied by John Child, his Second, Samuel Carleton, his ' chirurgion ', and John Float, one of the apprentices recently arrived. The *George* sailed on 25 December, and reached Gombroon on 22 January, 1670. Rolt's instructions were to call Flower to account for the money he had received, and for making an abatement of the consulage due on Englishmen's goods brought in the *Diamond*. Karmān wool was to be provided, if procurable at reasonable rates. Inquiry was to be made into the disposal of Fleetwood's estate. The *George* was to be sent back as quickly as possible. A horse or two should be bought and put on board for the Governor of Surat ; also any that Khwāja Minaz's agent might buy for the Governor, on payment of the usual freight.

By the *George* was sent a letter for the Company (dated 23 December), to be transmitted overland. This mentioned the death of Oxenden and the succession of Aungier, the arrival of the fleet, and the dispute between the Surat authorities and the ' Bannians ', which was still unsettled. The disturbance of trade thus caused had been increased by the losses sustained owing to the seizure of vessels by the Portuguese and the Arabs ;

as also by the troubles which have hapned at Bussora between the Turks and the Bashaw of that place, which have rendred that citty almost desolate all the last year, insomuch that what goods escaped the Arabbs and Portugalls hands lyes now unvendible in Persia, by reason of the vast quantitys overcloying that market. Add to this the dead markets of Mocha and Atcheen, and the great damage which many merchants have received by lading theire goods on leaky French ships. It is by sober men computed that this towne of Surat hath sufferd no less then 200,000*l.* in the common stock employed in trade.

These, together with ' other inland troubles, stopping of caphilaes, demurs in chopping and disposal of our goods ', had much retarded the dispatch of the *George*. That vessel, it was mentioned, had proved incapable of taking many goods, owing to her build. News from other parts of the East was communicated. The venture to Achin had suffered, owing to the decay of trade caused by ' the Dutches engrossing the whole comerce of Sumatra to themselves'

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and Gray had been ordered to return. According to a Dutch report, the *Charles* had been excluded from Queda by the Dutch and had gone to a small port four leagues away, where the factors were treating with a local chief. This news had not been confirmed, and its truth was doubted. No goods had been sent to Gombroon, owing to the glut reported from thence. The *Humphrey and Elizabeth* returned on 9 December, bringing Grigby and about 100 tons of pepper. Six days later the *Bombay Merchant* arrived with nearly 400 tons of pepper, &c. She had touched at Bombay, and had there transferred some pepper to the *Sampson*. Both ships were now lading for England. Aungier would proceed in them to Bombay, if not prevented by the Governor.

The 20th current the Bannians, having received letters of favour from their King and some assurance of their safety and more freedome in their religion, returned into Surat, to the great satisfaction of the Governour, officers, and all the inhabitants of the towne. Here are now two French ships,[1] the one of 600 tuns, the other of 300 tuns, riding in this road, and have taken in goods for France, whereof tis said they have not enough to lade the smallest of them; but they send great quantitys of provitions for St. Lawrence, and downe the Mallabar Coast they have bought abundance of dryd fish to carry thither, a comodity which Christians have not bin knowne to deale in, and therefore gives some wonder to this people. Their goods for Europe consist of cloth, druggs, indico, cotton yarne, all which were bought in the dearest time and have layn by them these two years. They intend for St. Lawrence in few days, and in the way are to call at Rajapore and the coast of Mallabar to take in pepper and their dryed fish. Their Director sent to us to know if we would recomend any generall or particular letters by them; which we excused, having our owne ships in port.

At a consultation held on 2 January, 1670,[2] Grigby was elected to one of the vacancies in Council caused by the departure of Rolt for Persia and of Young for England. It was also decided that James and Grigby should accompany the President to Bombay. Streynsham Master was left in charge at Surat; and on 11 January Aungier and his two colleagues embarked in the *Bombay Merchant*,

[1] The *Marie* and the *Force*. They sailed on 27 December (Kaeppelin, *op. cit.*, p. 63).
[2] *O.C.* 3391 and *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 3, p. 13.

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which sailed next day, in company with the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*. Bombay was reached on the 14th, and ten days later the two ships departed for St. Helena and England. The letter sent in them to the Company, dated 23 January and signed by Aungier, Gray, James, and Grigby, has been preserved (*O.C.* 3403), but the first portion is missing. A précis in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2, p. 62, enables us, however, to ascertain that nothing of permanent value has thus been lost. The extant portion commences with an assurance that 20,000*l.* worth of coral, if sound and of good colour, could be disposed of yearly at a profit of 25 per cent. or more. Two letters for the French Company were forwarded at the request of the French Director.

There is a fair correspondence reserved between us outwardly, and therefore we cannott refuse them these common civilitys; but we thinke it our dutys to tell you that in their vaineglorious rantings abroad in their factorys, and especially downe the Mallabar Coast, they are bold and rude in their language, both of His Majesty and yourselves, designing by that means to enforce a credit and beleife of their King and Companys magnified greatnes and power by casting scandalous reproaches in diminution of His Majestys honnour. This pollicy is not new, but an antient practise used by the Dutch; nor is there any better remedy for it then a generous scorne and disregard of such little arts, which yet we are not negligent in countermining by a more solid, reputable way, maintaining His Majesties and your reputation by our just proceedings, which renders theire unworthy scandalls as ayery as their tempers and as ineffectuall and unproffitable as their designs of trade hath hitherto proved. They have before (as advised in our last) dispeeded two of their greatest ships for St. Lawrence, neither of which was more then halfe laden with goods for France, which with much strugling and large presents to the Governour they procured leave to send of; Virge Vorah having offered to stop them, on accompt of their great debt to him, but with much adoe was prevailed with to consent that they might send them away, in hopes hereafter to make a greater advantage by them. They are now in expectation of the ship they sent last year to Atcheen, which designe, we hear, turns their Company very ill to accompt; and the abuses to the merchants that freighted goods on their ship hath much discouraged them from lading any more goods on them. They expect four great ships in February next with a large stock, which, if it answers their high promises, will recover their lost

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reputation and put them in a capacity to doe you further mischeife.[1]

It was hoped that the goods sent by the two ships would be found satisfactory in all respects. A full lading was now ready for the next vessel, to be sent home in October. The myrrh carried by the ships had been packed in bales instead of in chests; inquiry was made whether this method (which was cheaper) was approved. A Dutch ship, which arrived from Batavia on 11 January, brought a letter from the Bantam factors, of which a copy was transmitted. Information was given as to Dutch trade in Japan, and the prospects of an English venture to that country were deemed to be favourable. A factory in Siam would prove a good intermediate station for such a trade, though the Dutch would certainly make difficulties in both countries. On Aungier determining to proceed to Bombay,

we thought wee should have had somewhat more of trouble to procure the Governours licence for our departure; but having discoursed the matter in a freindly way with himselfe and the rest of the Kings officers, they gave their consents, the Shawbunder promising us to procure a generall order from the King that your President might goe to and returne from Bombay when and how often he thought good. And though he [we?] cannot but tell you that their jealousys are notably awakened, and that your settlement of Bombay is no small eyesore to them, as well from their owne apprehensions as from the subtle suggestions from the French and Dutch, yet we so handle the matter with them that we shall, God willing, not only secure the body of your trade from disturbance till your island is throughly settled, but we hope to make these Moors themselves instrumentall to its settlement, and that without any considerable charge to you. And this we hold and declare a more successfull pollicy, as your affairs now stand, then by an high and violent deportment to awaken (as some of your Councell would perswade us to) and provoke them to doe us what mischeife they are able. Had you force and means sufficient of men, money, amunition, and shipping to maintaine a war with any of your neighbours, we want not courage to hazard the last drop of blood in your service, whenever you shall order us to begin; but considering the present weake and naked posture of your island, we judge it but a necessary prudence to sow the foxes

[1] A Dutch account of the proceedings of the French at Surat will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xxix, no. 752.

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tayle to the lions skin, and on this score we give it you as our humble advice that you doe not think of withdrawing your Presidency from Surat till your island Bombay is throughly fortified; and then the sooner the better.

The Governor had intervened in a civil manner on behalf of the sons of Somaji Chitta and Chhota Thākur, and Master had been directed to investigate their claims. The year's accounts had been sent in the ships, and would show that the stock on hand was 1,620,316 rupees,[1] made up as follows: dead stock and desperate debts, 125,109 rupees: good debts and moneys on goods, 947,347 rupees; Europe goods unsold, 152,909 rupees; goods awaiting shipment, 403,951 rupees. The desperate debts included 'Sevagys and the Rajapores debts', which might prove recoverable, 'there being some fair overtures on foot tending to a good accomodation between us'. The goods on hand were chiefly coral and lead. A bargain was in treaty for the former; while as to the lead, which was 'the Kings comodity', it was hoped that his officers would agree to an enhanced price. Gray reached Bombay from Achin, and on 18 January was sworn in as a member of the Council. He had left Chown and Ward in charge of the stock at Achin, with orders to return as soon as the goods were sold. The rest of the letter was occupied with Bombay affairs; but a postscript advised that two spotted deer had been shipped in the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*.

Soon after Aungier's departure, viz. on 14 January, Master wrote to him from Surat (*O.C.* 3399) to give the current news. One item was that, in firing a salute from the hoy on the President's departure from Swally, a small brass gun burst, wounding five Englishmen (including Mansell Smith) and about as many lascars; but the injured were all doing well.

The next day I came up to Surratt, which was at that time (and still is) full of rumors what may be the issue of the busyness with the Portugalls, for that the King hath sent downe an Edy[2] with a husbull hookum,[3] commanding all the Portugez to be turned out of Surratt (which was imediately proclaimed by drumm, and the people all gone), a guard of 500 foote and 200 horse to be kept for defence of this towne, and 'tis said Bader Ckaun is ordered to

[1] Apparently this should be 1,629,316 rupees.
[2] Messenger (*ahadi*). See a note on p. 300 of the 1646–50 volume.
[3] Order (*hasb-ul-hukm*).

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goe beseige Damaon, another umbraw [1] Dio, and 22 others to come from court to infest the Portugall countrys, which the Prince at Oranggabaud is allsoe to assist with what aid they shall require. And there are a few words in the husball hookum which seem to threaten the other three Christian nations, to say, the King will care or take order for them allsoe. In order to these things the Kings nockada [2] Amoby [Umabhai] is sent for up to court, and none of the Kings or other marchants vessells to goe to sea this yeare.

This letter reached Bombay just as the ships were on the point of leaving. Aungier and his Council sent it at once on board, with a covering letter to the Company (*O.C.* 3405), in which they said:

If the Mogull be in earnest, we thinke the Portugalls are in noe condition to withstand him, espetially considering the embroiles they are allready engaged in with the Arrabs and Savagee; but the grave proceedings of these Easterne princes in matters of disputes, and espetially in warlike attempts, gives us reason to thinke they will both well consider of it. But let the successe be what it will between them, we little concerne ourselves with what the Mogull can doe against Bombay. Some little disturbance we expect at Surratt, which, now your ships are dispeeded, will not lye very heavy to your prejudice; and wee doubt not but patience and prudent manadgment will secure your estate and trade from any rough encounter.

It may be mentioned that the Company addressed two letters to Surat on 2 and 23 August, 1669, mainly relating to the goods to be provided for the next season's shipping (*Letter Books*, vol. 4, pp. 275, 281). The former, however, did not reach its destination until the beginning of March, 1670 (*O.C.* 3415), and the other is not likely to have arrived any earlier. No further notice, therefore, is here required.

Space will not permit of more than a brief notice of the letters sent from Persia by Flower during 1669. Writing to Surat on 21 January, he advised the dispatch of two horses, which were all that he could get hold of.

All such as procurable of any worth were taken and seized on by the Kings generall, who is to goe and oppose the Cossacke and Eusbeagues [Uzbegs], that have done greate mischeife in those

[1] Noble (*umara*).

[2] *Nākhuda*, the captain of a ship.

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parts of Mossendron and Guylan. . . . Yabboute,[1] which formerly were in noe esteeme, are now growne to extraordinary prizes.

The King had expressed astonishment that the English sovereign had not sent an ambassador to congratulate him on his accession; but was told that the factors were the usual channel of communication. The Governor of Shirāz had been called to Ispahān for permitting the former Bāsha of Basra to leave Persia against the King's command. This, however, was a mere pretext to cover the seizure of the Governor's treasure, which was much needed, 'the kingdome being never poorer'. Heavy rains had done much damage in Shirāz, as had also abnormal snow in the north. A certain John Campbell, who had served the Great Mogul as a gunner, had reached Kung on his way home, and was being assisted to proceed via Basra and Aleppo.[2]

The next letter to be noted is one from Flower at Gombroon to the Company, dated 2 March. The information given included the following passage:

The Portugalls armado . . . retourned to Goa without having done any considerable damage to the Arrabs; onely brought the Pertians to allow them 3,000 tomands of the 5,000 they demanded; which they carryed away with them, but was much resented by the King, who of the Ckaun of Laur will have satisfaction. Their retourne this monzoone with a greater force (as they threaten) in Aprill is accordingly expected. . . . Hassan Bashaw, the old tyrant of Bussora, in September last, with his treasure and retinew, imbarked att Bundareeke for Indya, wher hee is entertained by the Mogull; and the govourment of Bussora now in his brother in lawes hands, who is commanded by the Turke. And itts beleeved [it] will not bee long before the Arrabs breake againe into a new rebellion, as from thence is lately received advice.

The Dutch at Gombroon had quarrelled with the Khān, but the latter's death prevented an actual rupture. Both sides had complained to the King.

Flower expressed great satisfaction at the news of the transfer of Bombay to the Company.

[1] Persian *Yābū*, a pony, or an inferior horse. Mr. A. G. Ellis is of opinion that the word is of Eastern Turkish origin.

[2] This passage is quoted by Sir Richard Temple at p. 35 of the reprint (from the *Indian Antiquary*) of *The Travels of Richard Bell and John Campbell* (*Sloane MS.* 811).

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I want not dayly to sollicite and incorradge both Armenians and Banians of all sorts to imbarke themselves and goods for said port, wher they are promised all civill usage and favourable treatment in point of customes; which I find is of little force to draw them thether, neither may itt bee expected soe long as the impositions are equall with those att Suratt, which the politicke Mogul hath lately reduced in favour of all nations, as well as English or Dutch, cheifely out of designe to hinder the suspected growth of Bombaim and maintayne their owne greatnes, that port (as they advise from thence) being never in a better condition then at present. Butt would Your Worshipps please, but for a few yeares, to make Bombaim a free port . . . no doubt you would find itt the readiest and best way for itts establishment, as Legorne, Genoa, etc. may att this day give evidence.

A subsequent letter of the 27th of the same month to Surat gave the intelligence that

the vessell sent last yeare by the King of Siam with an embassadour and large present to this King, being mett by the Arrabs in this Gulfe, were carryed into Muscatt, where they endeavour to make her prize, and will hardly bee cleared without a good summe of money.

A Persian merchant on board, as also the ambassador (whose letter no one could read, it being in 'his owne character'), wrote to the Shāhbandar of Gombroon to intervene. The latter asked Flower and the Dutch Chief to write 'in this Kings behalfe', but nothing had yet been decided. The Portuguese at Kung were expecting a fleet from Goa, but its coming seemed doubtful. The Arabs had fitted out six ships of war, and pretended that they had been sent against Mokha. A postscript of the 29th announced that Capt. Young's family had arrived from Ispahān, and were about to take ship for Bombay. The Arab fleet had anchored off Gombroon, causing great alarm in the town; but, on being assured that certain Portuguese refugees from Kung were not there, they departed without doing any damage.

On 10 April Flower wrote again. He and the Dutch Chief had penned the desired letter, requesting the release of the Siamese vessel, but advice had since come from Muskat that the Arabs had confiscated the ship, after landing the goods, with which they were not meddling for the present. An attack upon Kung by the Arabs

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was expected. The Portuguese fleet was reported to have reached 'Scinda'. Jearsey's ship *Diamond* arrived from Masulipatam and Goa on 6 April. By the King's command Ormus castle and the forts on Larak and Kishm were being put into a state of defence. The Dutch Chief and his deputy had narrowly escaped being poisoned in their beer; also Flower, who was with them. In the ship (belonging to Khwāja Minaz) which carried this letter, Young's wife and family had embarked; and at the request of the master, who feared an attack by the Arabs, Flower had given him leave to display English colours.

Flower's next letter was dated from Ispahān on 5 September. The *Diamond* had left Gombroon on 3 May, carrying two envoys from the Persian King to 'Nicknum Ckaune and Cher[1] Cossim Beague'. In consideration of their being granted free passages and of the ship having come to Gombroon instead of Kung, Flower remitted, subject to the President's approbation, the consulage due on Jearsey's goods. A Surat junk arrived on 25 April, bringing two factors to assist Flower. Fleetwood fell ill of fever and died.[2] After obtaining an additional 100 *tūmāns* on account of the customs for the past year, Flower left Gombroon on 29 June, reached Shirāz 24 July, and Ispahān on 9 August. Replying to letters received there from Surat, Flower advised that the French ship therein mentioned arrived at Gombroon on 5 June, bringing three other ships they had freighted, but, after a dispute lasting twenty days, they went on to Basra without landing any goods, thereby disappointing the English of their share of the customs on them. As regards the inroads of the Uzbegs and Cossacks,

although by accident the Persians lately tooke 14 of the Cossacks, all men of quallity (one excepted), and killed some others, yet there is no course taken to expell them; here coming news but two dayes since they were returned againe, 7,000 men strong; which hath put this King and country to a nonplus, not being able to raise in all this time 5,000 horse to goe against them, which they have been raising ever since last yeare. So that Guylan and those places are like to be againe overrunne, if not lost. . . . The Cossacks that were taken a few dayes since were brought before the King

[1] Possibly the copyist's error for 'Mer' (Mīr).

[2] On 28 May, at 'Ascaene' (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105, p. 160). He had moved to Isin, which is about ten miles to the north, in hope of benefit from the change of air. The factor who came with him from Surat appears to have been Francis Maliverer.

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and threatned with death, if they would [not] turne Moores ; which was peremptously refused by all but a gunsmith, who is now the Kings servant. And to terrifie the rest, one of them was sentenced to be torne in peeces by dogges ; which was accordingly performed in the King's pallace, and his body afterwards dragged in the open Midan. This doth nothing daunt the others ; who as yet remaine in prison, and its beleived will not be long before [they] are served in the same manner, or devoured by lyons, as hath been already threatned. The King with his court lately retired to one of his gardens, with purpose, after 8 or 10 dayes stay, to proceed towards Gundeman, not farr for [from ?] Bussora, being jealous for the Turks, who are masters of it and killed some thousands of the Arrabs.

Flower had not been able to visit the Itimād-uddaula until 3 September, and consequently nothing had been effected at the time of writing. Annoyed at the Portuguese claims regarding Kung, the King decided to ' spoyle that port ' by forbidding his subjects to use any port but Gombroon or to embark in any but Dutch or English ships ; on reconsideration, however, this intention was abandoned, and in lieu thereof a Portuguese representative was summoned to court to explain the dispute. The letter sent by Flower to the Imām of Muskat had procured the release of the Siamese goods, though not of the ship. The members of the mission embarked accordingly with their goods in nine boats, four of which reached Gombroon, but the remaining five were carried by the Portuguese into Kung. Flower had written a letter of remonstrance to the Portuguese admiral.

About a month before my arrivall, the envoy from the Duke of Muscovie to this King, Mr. Thomas Bryan, departed this life about 3 legues off this city, and by the Kings command was honourably enterred at Juffa [Julfa] by the cheife of the Armenians and Europeans at his own charge. And the same day that I entered Spahaune Mr. Thomas Whyniate, that had been his servant, on whom the negotiation depended, dyed also. So the whole desighne is also expired ; which, if (please God) Mr. Bryan himselfe had lived (as I formerly beleeved), would never have come to perfection, for which there is substantiall reasons to be given, which I shall not trouble you with at present. No sooner was Mr. Whyniate dead but the Moores put a chopp upon all the estate belonging to Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hebden (of which he tooke the charge) and

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would have seized thereon, pretending they would be responsible to the Duke his master; but there not being the vallue of a penny that belonged to the Duke or any other but English, at the request of his servants I tooke the protection thereofe, in behalfe of the interessed, to whom I shall be responsible. . . . In company of said Mr. Bryan etc. came also Collonell Richard Palmer, with his wife and two sonns, being recommended by the Duke to this King's service. He served His Majesty Charles the First during his life, and afterwards fled into Rushia, where he hath spent his time since in the Emperour's service. As yet he is not entertained; in a few dayes more he will know the certainty.

Some further particulars of this embassy and of Colonel Palmer are given in a letter from Thomas Rolt to the Company, dated at Ispahān, 21 August, 1670 (*O.C.* 3462).

Att my arivall at Spawhawne there presented himselfe to me an English gentleman whose name is Palmer, who hath formerly beene a collonell in the Kings armey in the time of the late troubles; but when that party was forced to disband and shift for themselves, his lot fell to goe for Russia, where he hath served the Empiror severall yeares in considerable comands.[1] But Abass, the late King of Persia (a generous prince) haveing by his embassodors often requested a Fringgee officer (as these people call all European Christians) to disipline his people in the millitary art, this gentleman was chose by the Empiror from amongst the severall English, French, and Dutch officers in his servis to this imployment, and sent for Persia in the company of one Mr. Bryon, an English merchant that had long lived in Russia, whom the Empiror sent as his envoy extreordenary to the King of Persia to treate about the trade of raw silke; which envoy unhappely dyed, and the greatest part of his retinue, before they arived Spawhawne. And (which was a second misfortune) Abass, King of Persia, was dead, and his sonn, that now raignes, being younge and wholly ruled and governed by his Attomon-dowlett, a grimme and seveare man, espetially to Christians, whom he greatly hates, this gentleman therfore was not taken notice off with due respect; for when he presented himselfe to the Attomondowlett he told him, if he would turne Moore, he should have a handsome pention settled uppon

[1] Palmer's own letter to the President, 8 August, 1670, will be found in *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105. In it he says that he had served the late King throughout the civil war, from lieutenant to colonel: that he then spent two years at Bruges: that he was engaged by Sir John Hebdon, agent for the Russian Emperor, and proceeded to Moscow in 1659, where he continued in the imperial service until 1668: and so forth.

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him and put into an honorable comand, and his sonne (which is now with him, a lad about twenty yeares old) should waite uppon the Kings person, if he would doe the like; at which he was soe much disturbed (espetially some threats accompaning them) that he removed from the place where he did reside (which they had apointed him) to your house for protection, but before my arivall was removed to Jellfa, amongst the Armenian Christians, with his wife and sonne, who are now with him. He hath another sonne, somewhat older, who accompanied Mr. Flower to Suratt, hopeing to be received there into your servis.

As the Colonel and his remaining son both desired to enter the Company's military service at Bombay, Rolt had granted them passages in the *Charles* and had lent him five *tūmāns*, which he undertook to repay without fail. From *O.C.* 3486 it appears that Palmer and his family did not reach Gombroon in time to embark on that vessel. A Surat letter of 9 January, 1671 (*O.C.* 3538) announced that Palmer had arrived there, and transmitted a petition from him to the Company for employment at Bombay in any capacity. Replying on 15 March, 1672, the Company authorized the payment of an allowance of 30*l.* per annum to him until some suitable military post became vacant, though they would prefer that he accepted a passage home instead. The rest of the story is told in the President and Council's letter of 21 December, 1672 (*O.C.* 3722).

Col. Palmer, dureing the terme of his life at Bombay, demeaned himselfe worthily and did Your Honours good service; but he was soon taken from us, his wife and family liveing now at the charity of her friends. His two sonns serve as soldiers in your garrison, and are hopefull youths.

BOMBAY, 1669

As already noted, Captain Henry Young was appointed Deputy Governor of Bombay on 19 January, 1669, and on Oxenden's departure for Surat, nine days later, he was left in charge of the island. He was a man of considerable experience, having first come out to India in 1645 as a purser's mate.[1] At Surat he was taken ashore and employed as a factor and then as secretary to the Council.

[1] In a letter of 17 April, 1669 he says that his father 'and most of their kindred' had been in the Company's service. Possibly he was a son of John Young, who was employed at the East India House (part of the time as Purser-General) from 1618 to 1651.

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Early in 1652 he was sent to Persia as Second to the Agent, and he remained in that country until the close of 1655, when he returned to Surat, much mortified at his not having been made Agent, and quitted the Company's service. A few years later he was in Persia again, for the Agent (Buckeridge) was censured for giving him employment. How or when he got back to England is not recorded; but from the Court Minutes of 14 February, 1668 we learn that he then applied for either employment in the Company's service or a passage to Surat, 'hee having a wife and family in Persia'.[1] The Company, thinking probably that his experience would be useful, dispatched him to Surat as a Member of Council in the fleet of 1668. As already noted, he was sent with Goodier to take over Bombay in September of that year, and remained there as Second until Goodier's departure.

Young's associates for civil matters were James Adams, or Addams, a factor who had come out the previous year in the *Rebecca* (he appears to have gone to Bombay with Oxenden), and Thomas Coates, who had been one of the commissioners for taking over the island. The chief military officer was Capt. John Toldervy. For a short time affairs proceeded peaceably enough, the chief preoccupation being the repair of the fort. At a 'councill of warr' held on 1 February, it was resolved to stake out the walls on the plan submitted by Capt. Samuel Smith; and eight days later it was decided that the labourers' pay should be two pice per diem ('and soe of women and children proportionably') for those resident on the island, and two and a half for 'strangers'. The 'blacke pice' were to pass at 13 'bazarookes' and the 'redd' at 16.[2] Further, it was determined to begin with the 'bulwarke towards the west point', and dig out its foundations before proceeding with the rest of the fort. As regards civil matters, on 2 February Young issued a proclamation, requiring that no land should be sold without his previous consent; the sale was then to be announced three consecutive days in the bazaar, and registered by the notary public. At the consultation held on 9 February, the case of the 'Corumbines'[3] was considered.

[1] Young's wife and family arrived from Persia at Bombay in May 1669 (*O.C.* 3375). They afterwards accompanied him to Surat, and then returned with him to Bombay.

[2] Possibly the black pice had more base metal and less copper in them than the red.

[3] This appears to have been the local Portuguese form of *Kunambi* or *Kunbi* (a peasant or cultivator). Linschoten has 'Corumbijns', Pyrard de Laval 'Coulombins', and Fryer 'Columbeens'.

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It was propounded by the President [i. e. Young], by way of advice, that those poore people, being bound by their tenure to take, occupy, and manure [i. e. cultivate] certeine peices of land of this island and to pay soe many morais [1] of batty yearely to the Company,' they owing for the yeare passed 29 morais, which, for the scarcity of raine, they pretend themselves unable to pay, should bee therefore favoured, according as the matereses [2] should judge ; which was thought reasonable and just, being that the said matereses are sworne to bee impartiall in their valuations.

Sympathy was also shown, at a consultation held on 16 February, for the hard lot of the Kolis.

Upon complaint made by the Coolies of an exaction of a heavy tribute laid on them by Bernard de Tavora, being a certeine duty that they were all required to pay for fishing, called by them coito,[3] it was propounded to consideration to exchange the same for 16 pyras [4] (being a kind of measure) of fish, 6 pyras having bin required formerly, soe that by computation there would bee 400 xs. difference in the exchange to the Coolies advantadge, the former tribute amounting to about xs. 1000 and the latter to about xs. 600, more or lesse, being at noe certeinety, for the rising and falling of the price of the fish at severall seasons of the yeare ; which, in regard that the former imposition was meere force and a tyrannicall burden, and alsoe for that the poore people were soe ill satisfyed under the pressure that some deserted the island and others gave out that they would alsoe goe off . . . was generally agreed upon and concluded.

On 22 February Young and Adams wrote to Surat to report their proceedings. They mentioned the proclamation regarding the sale of lands and gave some account of the sale and purchase of goods.

[1] See a note on p. 307 of the 1665–7 volume.

[2] Mr. Edwardes identifies this word with the Marāthi *mhātārās*, 'elders of the community' who would naturally be employed as intermediaries (cf. his *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, vol. i. pp. 351, 356). A consultation of 2 February, 1670 refers to 'the severall mattarees of the cassaby (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 49) of Bombay' and other places. Fryer (ed. Crooke, vol. i. p. 175) seems to refer to them as *mandadores*, which was probably the designation given to them by the Portuguese.

[3] Properly a 'knife-tax' (see p. 49 of the 1665–7 volume). The Kolis may have had to pay it in respect of the knives used by them in gutting fish ; but the context suggests that the 'colouria' of p. 68 is the impost here intended.

[4] This may be the *phara* or *para* of 64 seers. Fryer (vol. ii. p. 131) says that at Bombay '8 parras is a candy'.

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They had invited tenders for the tobacco monopoly for the year and hoped to receive over 11,000 *zerafins* for it.

The bulwarke that lies to the west point is begun and digged round about and the foundation very well and substantially laid; and having many hands at worke, wee hope it will rise apace, especially since now wee beginn to bee furnished of all tooles, which wee first were in want of till they were made here. The scheme of the worke wee herewith send, exactly drawne out by Capt. Smith.[1] . . . Our fortifications every day advance considerably, though wee have not soe much helpe as yett wee expect. The foundations of the bulwarke are raised allmost equall to the superficies of the ground, wee having digged uppwards of 6 foote deepe, and the wall wilbee 10 foote thicke at the basis and a yard above the surface of the earth; which, though chardgeable, wee shall contrive all frugality that may not sterve the worke.

¶ Difficulties had been experienced with the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics.

The Padres of this church have bin very troublesome with their papers and demands lately, requiring new lawes and ordinances to bee made in their behalfe, and that they might bee permitted to use compulsion; to which being able to returne noe other answer (having neither will nor power to make them new lawes), they were put off at present onely with promise to observe the old lawes, according to the articles, allowing them onely that compulsion that was used in moderate primitive times; and for further satisfaction wee have sent the entire answer, translated out of English into Latine,[2] and soe presented for [to ?] the Padre Rector, according to order, by Mr. Burges. Since which time they have bin very importunate to have a certaine Gentue (which they pretend to have become formerly a voluntary Christian and now relapsed to his old Gentilisme) to bee delivered upp into their hands, offering at proofes, which they have not as yett perfected; soe that the buisynesse is still depending, as it hath bin in all governments yett since the English had footing here. Wee shall not favour them in the least; neither yett shall they want impartiall justice. But if, through defect of proofe, they fall in their cause, wee hope the decision given in this case wilbee a principall leading card to elude all other their pretensions; as, on the other side, if they could beare out and thrive in that their cause, which their

[1] This plan seems to have been sent home in the *Sampson*. It is not now extant.

[2] It is copied into the same volume (p. 100).

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heart and their eye is soe much upon, they would harden themselves with hopes, that nothing should stand before them. Wherefore wee shalbee the more cautious and circumspect, and they shall gaine nothing but by dint of evident proofe. One of their papers that they presented seemes to bee much the same with one that they formerly presented in Latine to the President here and is sent to the Company, which containes and insists upon articles made by Antonio de Mello de Castro and signed by Cooke, but yett not ratifyed by either King.

Inquiry was made regarding the price of gunpowder at Surat, as it might be cheaper to manufacture it on the spot, if saltpetre could be supplied from Surat. Three Malabars had been captured by 'a shibarre [1] of ours', their own boat having been overturned in their effort to escape. Having been adjudged to be pirates, they had been put in chains and would be set to work on the fortifications. The Trombay customs had been sold for 370 *zerafins* for the year, and 'the licence of tavernes and distilling of arracke' for 2,225 pagodas. A revised copy [2] of the articles of war was sent.

The next letter, signed by Young, Adams, and Coates, was dated 17 March. It stated that the tobacco monopoly for the ensuing year had been farmed out for 11,620 *zerafins*, with a fresh condition that other merchants might import tobacco for export to adjacent places. As regards the religious disputes,

after much deliberation and strict search into the matter, wee found at last a way, not onely to carry the buisynesse against the Padres particular and publicke intrest, the former being to pervert people and carry it in a high straine, the latter not onely to keepe people from coming on, but sending or scareing off the island to their Inquisition etc. Not to trouble you with all passadges, wee found (which was not denied) there was noe confession of faith made or profession to forsake the Divell etc, or to fight under [the] Christian banner etc., which ought to bee, in their as well as our Church; soe consequently noe Christian made, though forcibly (mocke) baptized. Upon urging of which and many other circumstances, the Padres acquiessed, receiving a command not to christen nor punish any Gentiles without licence. All parties appearing to have justice done them, wee hope now to bee at quiett. . . . Sevagee

[1] A coasting vessel (Mahr. *shibār*).

[2] The revision must have been very slight, for the articles as they stood in 1747 (*Miscellanies*, vol. II, p. 55) are almost identical with the original ones mentioned on p. 100.

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Raja having by his servants requested a favour of noe greate import, not exceeding 300 rupees, considering wee are [not?] in soe good a condition to reckon with him as wee hope in time wee may, wee thought to meete him with the same confidence; having likewise much occasion for a good correspondence with his people on the maine, from whence most of provitions come hither and wood in espetiall (which is not to bee had otherwhere), for which wee have now greate occasion for our chinam etc. And not onely for these reasons are wee inclined to comode him, but alsoe to invite other merchants, who have formerly proffered to bring goods and merchants hither and continue a constant trade to forreigne partes, as Mocha, Persia, etc., on condition they may have two yeares customes given them, which was late made three per cent. (for all goods intended to forreigne parts) by Sir Gervas Lucas, but never registred or ratifyed, but rather exacted from some few merchants who brings their goods from the maine and out of rivers in this bay. There they alsoe pay custome, and this custome of three per cent. or any other was not formerly taken, nor is allowed in the forreall [rent-roll: Port. *foral*] of Maym, for goods brought in boates and put into shipps riding in Maym, Bombay, and Trombay (in which jurisdiction this rice was laden, but not in that port), but on the contrary expressely forbidden; soe on this consideration wee were the more ready to gratify Savagee Raja (who would not willingly have paid it, as wee were informed), as alsoe in hopes these vessells may returne hither with merchants; which wee presume is aimed att by the Honnourable Company, soe long as wee retaine our right of customes. . . . Our fortifications are carried on with all the care, speed, and frugality wee can; employing sometimes, more or lesse, about 250 men, besides about 140 women and boyes, daily. Wee now make as much chinam [see p. 79] as wee can spend, but lay upp little in store for the raines; yett hope soe to cover our kills [1] that wee shall not stand still for want of it. The bastioun to the westward is now all well upp above ground, and the foundations of the curtaines layeing . . . Our Moody [see p. 64] is very negligent and is not to bee quickned; age hath overrunne him. If an active, able, and honest man were to bee had, wee would entreate your sending him; for buisynesse lyes very heavy upon us, not onely on the score of fortification, but in many other particulars concerning the inhabitants of the island, who are well knowne to bee a very turbulent and litigious people, and our assistance is very small and unexperienced.

[1] An old form of 'kiln'.

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The agreement with the farmers of the tobacco monopoly, as translated into Portuguese by Robert Barbor, was forwarded for criticism. Barbor was willing, but of poor health; and some one skilled in Portuguese, and with a knowledge of English and Portuguese law, would be found useful.

Wee might doe good service here with two or three good, small, nimble vessells, with a small charge, having the inhabitants and our souldiers allwaies in a good readinesse, soe that the charge wilbee onely when there is occasion or that they are in service. These might scowre the coast hereabouts, soe that a Mallabarr should not dare to appeare within 20 or 30 leagues to the north or southward of this port; which doubtlesse would bring trade hither, being the greatest danger is on vessells falling in with this coast, even at every good port; the Mallabarrs having taken many vessells of burden this yeare, and are very daring, and will increase if not curbed in time. They have taken our fishermen in our sight, and, for want of such vessells, wee could not helpe them; which would alsoe serve us against Savagee or any others, that have many small friggotts etc., and may attempt ought. And they may alsoe, if occasion, bee employed for transporting goods and taking any vessells wee may have occasion to seize; and on divers other occasions would bee serviceable and bee much for our masters honour and profitt. Wee have bin buisy in settling the militia of this island, and hope to bring it to a good passe in a short time. And wee are clearing the small bay of rockes twixt the fort and the customehouse. The stones serving to fill upp in our fortifications, it may bee double service, if wee shall make it a harbour for our shipping; which may bee done, and wilbee a place of greate security for them.

A supply of Ahmadābād paper [1] was requested, and a few other stores. Samuel Burgess was reported to be seriously ill. A map of the island, drawn by Capt. Smith, was promised by the next conveyance.

The English version of the agreement for the tobacco monopoly is entered on p. 109 of the same volume (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105). The successful tenderers were three Brahman inhabitants of Bāndra, while their sureties were four Portuguese of Māhīm. The term was for one year from 18 April, and payment was to be made by equal quarterly instalments. The tobacco was to be sold

[1] Ahmadābād was an important centre of the paper-making industry.

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at the same rates as in the neighbouring Portuguese territories. No tobacco brought in English ships was to be landed or sold; and provision was made for keeping in warehouse any Indian tobacco imported with a view to re-export.

The promised map of the island was forwarded on 20 March, with a note signed by Young only. This said:

The 18th current Essagee Raja,[1] whose country lyes just over against us, sent a private message unto mee in particular, enjoyning secresy. The import was that Sevagee intended to fall on some aldeas on the maine in his goverment, yett belonging to the Portugeze, and when overcome them resolved for Salsett. Withall hee desired halfe a mand of good English powder, and at a distance endeavoured to bee satisfyed if hee might expect any assistance of a few souldiers and a small recruite of other warlike materialls, if hee had occasion; but not urging much, requiring a possitive answer. I complementally promised to serve him in what I could; having kept a good correspondence with [him] on the score of a good quantity of excellent stones, ready cutt square for faceing, which hee hath promised, but the conditions are not yett made. Wee shall much want large boates to fetch them. Hee is a Raja that may bee made good use of on diverse occasions, his country lyeing soe very neere us, and (as hee saieth) Sevagees neighbourhood cannot consist with our convenience, especially in Salsett. This is but the beginning of our correspondence. I know not what may follow; soe intreate your order how I shall proceed, in case hee should demand any assistance from us, and whether I shall proceed to treate with [him] alone, and thus singly write toutching matters of this import; for I find many affaires here are to bee managed by myselfe, wherein tis not propper allwaies to take advice, [as?] in some matters, when I allwaies desire the opinions of those you have appointed my Councill; who, I presume, somewhat scruple the signing many things they neither understand nor meddle with, belonging more properly to my owne dispatches, being matters military and toutching the goverment, which may bee fitt for mee to give you an accompt of in generall letters. . . . I have received and answered many petitions toutching lands seized in the late goverment, and have bin more searching into those certificates, copies whereof goeing here inclosed,[2] with

[1] Īsarji Rāja. He was probably only a local landowner.

[2] These are entered after the letter. They relate to certain orchards and rice lands, which were declared in 1667 to be Crown property.

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their substance put into English by Mr. Barbor. I entreate your opinion therein, and orders how I shall proceed with those who shall make out a cleare title to any part thereof. The Mallabarrs have soe blocked upp those vessells that intended under His Honours protection at his goeing from hence, and many others since gone from hence, that the merchants etc, the passed day sent to mee, intreating that I would order a new vessell, now bound to Suratt, to take care of them; which I shall endeavour, the poore merchants being even ruined by soe tedious lyeing, and the Honnourable Company will suffer alsoe by their customes. I heartily wish wee were in a condition to cleare the coast hereabouts of such pittifull pyratts. I hope it wilbee taken into consideration.

The next letter (6 April) reported that progress was being made with the fortifications, and gave some details of no special interest, save for a reference to 'the Old Womans Island', which is perhaps the first instance of this corruption of Al-Omāni. Another letter of 17 April reflects the replies made from Surat to the letters of 17 and 20 March.

Wee . . . shall observe your order as to merchants goods for Mocha; and as for rice brought from without and shipp'd off, and cocos from Goa onely to lye here, wee abate onely ⅓ customes, to invite merchants; elce should gett nothing. For rice and cocos carried to other places noe duties are exacted; onely here they are thought more safe. Wee have granted to some few, and desire your approbation. . . . Wee have not, neither shall wee, lett goe our privileges by the favour extended to Sevagy Rajah for once, and to him alone, not intending to make it precedentiall; yet there thought fitt to preserve our honnour by giving that which wee could not retaine, if hee should deny payment, when wee were not in a capacity to force it, and our necessityes depended upon his courtesy, as for wood, etc., which, upon a quarrell started, would have bin denied us, as now wee have received it to our greate satisfaction; and there is plea enough to call him to an accompt hereafter, for this or other pretensions. . . . Wee take notice what you say of Essagee. The facing stones hee hath may bee of excellent use; but if you thinke not fitt to permitt us to deale for them, wee forbeare. A good quantity wee have allready received. Wee observe what you write of lands, and wee shall follow your order. . . . Here is greate want of a generall overseer for the necessary provisions for the fortifications, buildings, etc. . . . The Company wants ground to accommodate strangers, as Chaul

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weavers, etc. (whereof some are come allready, but wee cannot dispose of them without your order), here being noe place for people to build in, soe noe encouragement for men to come and transplant themselves hither. Wee therefore submitt to Your Honour etc. to grant us licence to buy or rent ground fitt and propper for that occasion. There is a handsome peece of ground that will make a faire streete of houses, lying behind the bazar, and it reaches to the custome house. The rent wilbee about xs. 50 per annum. It will quitt the cost in a very short time. . . .

Replying on 28 April, the President and Council approved what had been done concerning the duties on rice and coco-nuts. No objection was taken to the transactions with Sivāji and Īsarji Rāja, but a warning was given to avoid any pledge of assistance to the latter in his quarrels. The plot of ground indicated might be purchased, as proposed.

On 29 April Young wrote a further letter, from which it appears that some weavers had been sent from Surat to reside at Bombay.

Our workes . . . goe on well. The curtaine is up with the front of the house, in some places eight or nine foote at least above ground. . . . I have considered of a place right downe by the staires that runns into the sea, which would bee very convenient to fortify, to rake ships as they come upp with theire stemme ; where wee may plant 6 or 8 gunns, that will doe us considerable service. Capt. Smith approves of it. The gunns wilbee planted soe that, when shipps may come to annoy us any way at sea or in the bay, they shalbee reversed, soe as upon occasion to defend us from any attempt to seaboard. Wee doe not allow a third part to all persons whatsoever for bringing in of rice, but to such onely as immediately petition us and will not bring it in otherwise, but shipp it off where it lyes at much easier rate ; and our opinion is, if it were granted to all that petition us for it, it might much raise the customes, advance the honour of the port, and supply us with provisions.

The President and Council replied on 5 May, reproving the Deputy Governor for acting without the concurrence of his colleagues. Sergeant Fisher had requested that ' his sonns pay run on from the time of his birth ', and this was to be allowed, for, ' being promised him by my predecessors, it could not bee denyed him '. The Kārwār factors had written that they were sending to Bombay two persons

well skilld in the planting of pepper, who alsoe carry with them severall pepper plants. Our freinds there have agreed with them

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at 8 rupees per month; which wilbee noe greate expence, if they performe theire promise. Wherefore wee would have you accomodate them with a convenient place where they may make theire experiment, and alsoe use them civilly, whereby others may bee induced to come.... Wee alsoe send you an excellent state [stout?] bay horse for your stable and a soldiers use. Hee stands entred in our bookes at 500 rupees price....

Here we must go back for a while and deal with the grave dissensions which had occurred between Young and his principal subordinates.[1] We know from Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. i, p. 35) that the Deputy Governor was 'a very short man, but most generous and very liberal'—characteristics which suggest a sensitiveness on points of dignity and an impulsive disposition; and in one of his letters he confesses that he is passionate, adding that his duties at Bombay 'would try a saint'. He was soon at loggerheads with Capt. Toldervy. The latter, a blunt soldier who was by no means pleased to find himself, who had held the King's commission, placed under the orders of a merchant, let fall some expressions which Young construed as derogatory to his authority. The matter was brought before a court-martial on 18 February but Toldervy disclaimed any intention of disputing Young's authority, and the matter dropped for a time. It was then the turn of Adams to incur the Deputy-Governor's suspicions, and, fearing that the two would discuss their grievances together, Young laid his commands on both not to speak to each other. This brought in a feminine influence, for Mrs. Adams took violent umbrage and used opprobrious terms to Young. The latter ordered Adams to keep his wife indoors; and on the latter professing his inability to control her, the Deputy Governor sent the lady a command not to quit the Fort. She 'immediately went forth of the Fort and, in a kind of a disrespectfull and a contemptable manner told the Deputy-Governor at her returne shee would have him to take notice that shee would not obey his commands'.

Young seems to have thought it prudent to avoid a further contest with this termagant; but he was by no means finished with Toldervy. He found an assistant in Richard Ball, who had his own grievances against the captain, and who delivered in a series of

[1] Numerous papers on the subject are entered in *Factory Records, Bombay*, vol. i. The dispute can only be summarized here.

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charges against him, accusing him of mutinous behaviour. These allegations were considered at another court-martial assembled on 29 and 30 March. Toldervy objected, not unreasonably, to Young acting as president, but this was overruled. The charges disclosed nothing of serious import, and the captain made a modest and manly reply to them. The members of the court were divided; three were of opinion that Toldervy had been proved guilty of mutiny, while the other three preferred to say merely that he had disobeyed the commands of the Deputy-Governor. The question of punishment was then considered. Young and Reynolds Langford (the junior officer) were for the penalty of death; the rest would not go further than taking away the culprit's commission. The latter course was adopted, and Toldervy was ordered to be imprisoned until an opportunity should occur for his deportation to England. Meanwhile the proceedings were forwarded to Surat for confirmation. Shortly afterwards, Toldervy was liberated on giving his promise not to leave the island.

Young, Adams, and Toldervy all wrote to Surat, giving their several accounts of the dispute; and the matter was considered by the President and Council on 7 April. Young's proceedings were roundly condemned and it was resolved to order him to remove Toldervy to an upper chamber in the Fort, pending the dispatch of some one from Surat (Aungier most probably) to endeavour to compose the differences. A letter was accordingly written the following day, expressing astonishment at Young's action, and directing him to ease Toldervy's confinement by a change of quarters and the provision of a servant. The dispatch of Robert Barbor to Bombay was also advised. In a note to Toldervy of the same date he was urged to reconcile himself to Young. At a further consultation on 27 April it was decided that the season was too late to permit of Aungier proceeding to Bombay, and that the best course was to order Young to restore Toldervy's commission and to permit him to repair to Surat. The charges against him were declared to be 'grounded more on private grudges then any true publike cause', and the evidence was pronounced quite insufficient to justify the sentence. In future no court-martial was to 'sitt on the life of any man' without express permission from Surat. These orders were transmitted in a letter of 28 April, in which Young's proceedings were stigmatized as 'absolute tyranny' and 'next degree to mad-

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nesse'. Moreover, as to the articles of war on which he relied to justify capital punishment,

though wee deny not they may bee such as are used in other garrisons, yett wee have heard that they were not sent out as appointed and allowed of by the King and his Councill, but brought out by a private man; and though such the Company by the Kings pattent have power to governe by, yet its said the law allows of noe such, onely the Kings prerogative; and wee have knowne a very greate man called to answer at the barr for condemning a man by court martiall. All which are but cautions for us to proceed very warily in these cases, when wee may bee called to answer for ourselves many yeares hence.

Young had no choice but to submit, though two private letters from him to Oxenden (18 April), one to the President and Council (17 April), and one to Aungier, show how mortified he was at the check he had received. He confessed that 'I am told, allmost to my face, I am madd in the morning, drunke at night. Truely, I draw towards it, for my buisynesse . . . may in time distract mee. I am a greate stranger to sleepe, and wine hath power over my braine . . . yett I thinke I use not to bee drunke'. But he insisted that he had not been actuated by malice, and he hinted that Toldervy had endeavoured to seduce the garrison with a view to upsetting the government.

The next victim of Young's anger was Adams, who, writing to Surat on 27 April, complained that the Deputy-Governor had struck him, thrust him out of the room, and confined him to his chamber. The motive of Young's persecution of him was, he alleged, the failure of many attempts the Deputy-Governor had made to seduce Mrs. Adams. However, the disputants were for a time reconciled, and on 21 May they both signed a letter to Surat, which ascribed their differences to 'a fatall necessity that hath borne us away'. They also said:

Wee are glad to heare you were pleased to approve of our proceedings concerning the dutys of rice and cocos, as alsoe Sevagee and Essagee. That purchase of ground mentioned wee are now upon, and hope to give a good accompt of the same. . . .

In a separate letter sent by Young at the same time, he dwelt upon the trouble caused by the prohibition of court-martials being held without permission.

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The soldiers will find themselves much encouraged to dewell againe, noe lesse then six having lately bin at it. . . . Some, I heare, were wounded, others fledd. . . . On[e] the principallest with another officer have fought. . . . I wish I may scape.[1] The very country people are more refractory to orders, they finding things goe as twas buzzed in theire eares. . . . Wee cannot tell what to doe without your possitive command, which, if it come not in time, may occasion the filling our prisons to the disabling the garison of English, which are not many. . . . Our curtaine on the front of the house within the workes is upp 13 foote, with a gate in the middle. . . .

In reply (5 June) Oxenden and his colleagues pointed out that they had not abridged Young's power to deal with offences, except as regards the penalty of death. In all but capital cases,

wee doe hereby enorder that . . . you doe, after the parties are secured, call your court martiall without staying for our order, and inflict such punishment as the meritt of the fault shall require. . .

A letter of 9 June from Young and Adams reported that the weavers from Surat had already produced some piece-goods, and suggested that some washers and beaters should also be sent. The building work had been stopped by the rains. The ' buisynesse of lands ' had been brought to a certain point, at which the expected orders from the Company must be awaited.

Mr. Thomas Cotes and Girder, our broker, are gone to Cullian and Buinde to treate toutching our customes, and have taken coppy [of] the Kings phirmand for our paying two per cent. in Suratt. Wee expect the same usage there, when wee have occasion. They have carryed a present for the Diwan etc. to the amount of 100 rupees and uppwards, as occasion may require. The Seedee of Danda Rajapor hath written to mee, making his case knowne that Sevagee Raja is entred his country and done him a greate mischeife, and desires that his people may have admittance, in case they should bee forced to fly hither for refuge. Hee is promised all civility in such case.

In a private letter from Young to Oxenden of the same date, the former said :

I have endeavoured the purchasing the land for the accommodation of strangers, but cannot yett compasse it for the Company ;

[1] Young was expecting to be challenged by Toldervy to a duel.

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and my wife, hearing such a thing was to bee bought, hath importuned mee to buy it for my youngest daughter; which I dare not attempt without Your Honours leave, which I now make bold to aske, to keepe my word with my wife. Tis soe small a matter I shall not bee importunate, but shalbee well satisfyed with your answer, bee it as you please; onely I oblidge myselfe to putt it to the same use twas intended, to accommodate strangers, as much to theire content as it was intended. The weavours, before your order came, were seated twixt the custome house and Capt. Toldervys, which is the Companies owne, as is the rest of the ground twixt that and Mr. Gollophers; and now, the raines coming, tis too late to build on the ground. . . . Mr. Burges, our secretary, is such an incendiary that I wish him with you, as hee desires.

To this Oxenden on 21 June sent an answer in which he said:

As to the peice of land you desire to purchase for your daughter, it having passed in generall betweene us, I cannot give franke and publicke consent, upon my particular score of authority, that it bee purchased by any private interest; but complying soe neere as I may to your request, I will not take further cognizance of it in generall, but will let it passe dormant, and leave you to dispose further of it as you can best contrive.

If he found himself 'disquieted' with Toldervy and (Samuel) Burgess, he should send them to Surat, 'in a handsome and freindly way'. He was again warned that the articles of war were not sanctioned by English law and it was doubtful whether the Company would approve of them, 'for sure I am they desire theire yoke should be easy'. Oxenden closed the letter with a pathetic appeal for concord at Bombay.

At present I am very weake, not able to goe, stand, or hardly sitt upp; and know not how it will please God to dispose of mee. His will bee done. But my most earnest desires are that unfeigned freindshipp and charity might rule amongst you, as amongst us, and then you will more then ever oblidge mee to rest your affectionate freind, G. O.

To the public letter of 9 June a reply was sent from Surat a fortnight later. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress made in the manufacture of piece-goods. It would be difficult to induce washers to migrate to Bombay.

Theire employments are soe full here that they have as little

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reason as inclination to remove. Besides, those that have bin there complaine they cannot wash well with that water, nor doe they well enjoy theire healths, nor can they live at soe cheape a rate as the people there. . . . Notwithstanding, wee shall use our endeavour to procure some against next September, if possible; and in the interim wee advise that you use your endeavour to employ some of the natives to learne the trade, and putt them upon it by some extraordinary encouragement at first, which afterwards by degrees may bee taken off. . . . Wee understand the bricklayers have left you on promise to returne; but wee doubt it wilbee hard to procure any to returne from hence, or to procure any chinam men to goe downe, for till the wall about Suratt[1] bee finished, noe workemen wilbee suffered to leave the towne.

As for the lands seized by Lucas, nothing could be done until orders came from the Company, and 'wee have allready declared to the Jesuites and others concerned that [wee] will neither receive petitions nor resolve on anything' till then. The mission of Coates to Kalyān was approved. With regard to the Sidi's request,

wee thinke it not prudence in us to engage ourselves in other mens quarrells, having enough to doe to preserve and defend our owne; nor will the present condition of our garrison at Bombay admitt the harbouring of any strangers, especially such as have bin and are our declared enemies, who have formerly robbd our caphilas and boats, and on whom wee have a greate pretence. Wherefore wee would have you bee very cautious how you act in this affair, and by noe meanes engage or promise anything; for by that meanes you will more violently exasperate Sevagy against us, with whom you well know wee are in noe condition to contrast [i. e. enter into a controversy] at present. If wee had a strength of men and ammunition to mainetaine both places, Bombay and Danda, a faire overture were now offered us to right and revenge ourselves against the Sydy and Sevagy; but wee can easier imagine then act such a designe.

The exportation of coir must not be allowed. Small quantities might be spared to the Portuguese, if necessary, in requital for other services; but otherwise the prohibition must be strictly enforced. Young was again begged to desist from his constant accusations against his colleagues. Inquiry was made 'how the pepper plants

[1] The construction of this brick wall was ordered in consequence of Sivāji's attack in 1664, but it proceeded very slowly. Jean de Thevenot, who was at Surat early in 1666, says that the walls were then rising; but Fryer in 1674 found them still unfinished.

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doe thrive in Mazagaon garden, and whether the Carwarr planters bee arrived, and what probability there is of its growth'.

A fresh encounter between Young and the redoubtable Mrs. Adams ended in her being confined to her chamber by his orders—a step of which her husband complained bitterly in a letter to Surat of 16 June. The President and Council in reply (30 June) censured both parties, and ordered that Mr. and Mrs. Adams be allowed to live outside the Fort for the future. In consequence the lady was liberated on 15 July. Four days later Aungier and his Council wrote to Bombay, announcing the death of Oxenden, and begging the disputants there to be reconciled and thus heal the discords which had occasioned the late President so much pain.

The next general letter from Bombay is one of 22 July. Among other items of information given were the following:

Mr. Thomas Cotes was kindly received in Cullian. The effects you will find in coppy of what was granted by the Diwan here enclosed, and all civilityes are promised. . . . Wee must beare the blame in meddling with the seized lands, since you please to contradict your former order. . . . Wee are sorry you mistake us concerning the Siddy of Dandy Rajapor. Wee were not soe imprudent as to ingage in his or any others quarrells; but as to our complementall promise of civility (which wee were not soe strictly bound as to our prejudice), tis usuall and, wee conceived, could not have bin prejuditiall, since workemen of all sorts are not very plentifull amongst us. As to any difference with him, twas not knowne. . . . The pepper plants thrive but badly, onely two now being above ground sprouting, notwithstanding all the care taken of them. . . . Those officers I formerly wrote to you were or had bin fighting here were, as I then said, Capt. Toldervy and Serjeant Fisher. . . . This afternoone, to our admiration, wee understand Capt. Toldervy was seene at Bandora this morning. Tis unusuall to goe off the island without takeing leave of some freinds. Wee heare not hee was soe civill to any. Wee know not what hee intends by it.

The letter ended with a request from Young that the President and Council would send him a written indemnity in the form enclosed. In a private note to Oxenden of the same date he begged for a decision regarding the land he desired to buy. It was flooded and useless for the time being, he said, and he would not press the matter were he not 'importuned by that sex not easily denyed'.

The mystery of Toldervy's appearance at Bāndra was soon solved

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by the receipt at Surat of a letter from him, dated 24 July. In this he narrated a fresh quarrel with Young on 18 July, when the latter struck him, took away all his papers, and committed him prisoner. Toldervy was released the next day, but his papers were detained. He thereupon decided to avail himself of the President's permission and go to Surat, and he applied for Young's licence for his departure accordingly. Going on the 21st to learn the Deputy-Governor's decision, he was met with the news that the latter, having found among the papers an old unsigned letter to Humphrey Cooke, had declared in his passionate way that it contained traitorous matter, and that he would hang Toldervy in despite of Oxenden and his Council. The captain, alarmed at this news, fled at once to Bândra, intending to proceed thence overland to Surat. He enclosed papers, charging Richard Ball with having fomented all the discords that had arisen in the island, and with various actual offences.

The letter to Cooke contained a series of accusations against him, couched in violent terms. This incident had been disposed of at the time it happened,[1] and some ingenuity was needed to turn it now to the writer's detriment. Young, however, construed it as an act of insubordination against the then Governor of the island, and he further averred that Toldervy was guilty of desertion in quitting the island without leave. Two court-martials were held, on 23 and 27 July, at which the majority found Toldervy guilty of deserting his post without permission and stigmatized him as an enemy to the Company; whereupon Young issued a proclamation to that effect, and sent the papers to Surat (27 July), requiring the President to imprison Toldervy on his arrival.

The following day Adams wrote a piteous letter to the President, detailing the abuses and affronts he had received from the Deputy-Governor, and declaring that, were it not for his wife and daughter, he would follow Toldervy's example and make his escape. He enclosed a long narrative, with copies of his letters to Young, showing the capricious and tyrannical behaviour of the latter.

Meanwhile, Capt. Samuel Smith, holding himself aloof from these quarrels, was quietly working at his beloved fortifications. In a letter to Surat of 3 August, he said:

[1] Cooke imprisoned Toldervy; but on the matter being inquired into by Sir Gervase Lucas, and on Toldervy withdrawing the charges and asking pardon publicly, he was released and reinstated.

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Wee have done but little these two months. . . . I have placed some cannon-basketts [i. e. gabions] with a small brestworke on a mount on the west side of the fortalease [i. e. fortalice] which was cast up before in Governor Gary's time. Wee shall plant 7 guns in it, which wilbee very materiall till the new workes are up. The second instant wee have begun to put the country people to fetch stones. I doe wish wee had 40 or 50 masons more then wee had the last yeare; if not, this peece of fortification will not bee finished this yeare, if it bee the next. Two or three greate boates wilbee very usefull here.

A letter from Young and Adams to Surat of the following day lamented the death of Oxenden and expressed gratification at the succession of Aungier. They further said:

Wee have your commands to suffer noe cairo [i. e. coir] to bee transported, and find the Company will suffer thereby in part, by the merchant inhabitants, who pay annually for liberty to trade (amongst other) with those comodities of the growth of the island (which are not many); who, being debarred, cannot pay theire tax. All our marriners likewise are taxed at the rate they were at when they had noe restraint in trading; and many merchants come to this island to buy and carry off its comodities, and wilbee at a losse, finding what they expect monopolized. . . . Wee hope to have in readinesse about 150 candies cairo in a month (though people have not greate mind to sell), and expect your order how it shalbee sent you. Wee loose noe time in making broad and narrow baftas, though the greate raines here much hindred. . . .

The President and Council's letter, enjoining peace and amity, had been read to the commissioned officers; but it was asserted that the Surat authorities had been misinformed, for at Bombay the Company's servants had 'not onely a good understanding, but much love and affection for each other'. A statement to this effect was forwarded, signed by Samuel Smith, John Burgess, and three other officers.

This letter crossed a private one from Aungier to Young, of 3 August, remonstrating most earnestly with him on his quarrelsome disposition and begging him to put an end to all disputes. Concerning the piece of ground at Bombay, consideration was deferred, though Aungier professed his desire to meet Young's wishes as far as possible. The desired indemnity could not be

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granted, it being 'somewhat irregular and without example'. Toldervy had reached Surat that day, but had been forbidden to use the Company's house until he had given a satisfactory account of his proceedings. Neither to him nor to Adams had Aungier shown any countenance. The French Director, Caron, had requested the surrender of three sailors who had fled to Bombay, and this should be carried out.

I have bin soe taken upp in giving visitts to the Governor and merchants of the towne who came to congratulate, and in receiving the French, who supped with us last night, that I could not dispeed your pattamar sooner.

On 18 August Aungier wrote again, expressing his relief at the assurances given from Bombay that the differences were at an end. 'Pray, deare Capt. Young,' he said, 'endeavour to keepe things in this faire and calme posture'; and to this end he exhorted him to make a point of consulting Adams and Coates in all matters. Toldervy had been admitted 'to the Companies table', after spending a fortnight at the house of Anthony Smith, 'where he was a prissoner on parole'. Young was entreated to send him his papers, as he was complaining much of their detention. The rest of the letter was concerned with money due to 'Mr. Chappell, kinsman to Agent Foxcraft', and to Samuel Gilbert, an Irishman who came out in the *Constantinople Merchant* and was sent by Oxenden on the *Bantam* with Streynsham Master.

Eight days later another letter from Aungier answered one from Young, in which the latter had expressed a desire to come to Surat. To this the Council could not agree, being of opinion that he could not be spared from Bombay at the moment. Aungier hoped to be able to visit him in October, but could not absolutely promise. Young had demurred to giving up the French refugees, but was told that sailors must be surrendered, 'according to the civill law of all nations', as they were doubtless under contract to serve, and were, therefore, on a different footing from ordinary foreigners, who might freely be entertained as soldiers.

The next packet that reached Surat from Bombay contained two letters, one of 27 August and one of 7 September. In the former permission was requested to allow the Portuguese to buy coir, in order to induce them to reciprocate in other ways. The Bassein

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authorities had made concessions in regard to trade at Thāna, and it was hoped in time ' to gaine at Cullian as much priviledge as you have at Suratt, or find a way to have noe occasion to trouble them, and yett send upp the country freely '. The second letter mentioned the arrival of ' a juncke of Sevagees from Aden ' and (in a postscript dated the 10th) announced that a small French ship had appeared off the port, having come (it was believed) from Macassar, and intended to put into ' Vissavah ' (i. e. Vesavah or Versova, on Salsette Island). Apparently this was the *Mazarine*, which is mentioned in another letter from Bombay to Surat, dated 23 September. This referred to a missing one of the previous day, wherein Young had begged to be removed from Bombay—a request to which he desired an early reply. The letter went on to say that the Governor of Kalyān was anxious to buy some coir ; a speedy compliance was recommended.

Capt. Gary hath talked of leaving this place, and wee have noe order to stopp him ; [wee] pray your order herein. Theives abound, notwithstanding wee keepe some that wee have in theire irons and working them hard. Wee are loath to offend by being too cruell as to taking away life ; but if suffered, this may prove the receptacle of these partes.

Another letter, dated 28 September, contained the following tirade against the local clergy.

There hath bin many greate complaints made often against the preists of this place for the denying the benefitt of the Christian religion, allowed by both the Reformed Church and that of Rome ; wee being bound by articles to mainetaine theire rights and priviledges, according to the Church of Rome, at the time of the surrender of Dunkirke, as long or whilst they endeavour nothing against the government . . . and those preists, being subjects in this island to the King, refuse to marry any Protestant to a Papish, contrary to the laws ecclesiasticall of both Churches, and would introduce a novelty hatched by the pittifull, ignorant, malitious polititians, the Inquisadores of Goa, reasonably beleived to bee ordered to support theire pride and authority over these poore ignorant Christians and to make us appeare inconsiderable and odious amongst these inhabitants, to the disturbance of the island and others that keepe women and would marry them, [but] continue in sinne by theire villanous obstinacy. Thus denying the just use of Gods ordinances breeds ill blood here. . . . Where there

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is laws and goverments, people expect redresse or will grow impatient, to the producing evill consequence. For the prevention of evill wee shalbee forced ere long to doe what wee shall thinke fitt herein; and desire your more grave, able, and prudent advice, for tis a buisynesse of greate import.

The *Sampson, Bombay Merchant,* and *Humphrey and Elizabeth,* from England, reached Bombay on 4 October and landed goods and passengers. This appears to be an appropriate place to consider the orders given by the Company regarding the administration of the island; and we may begin with its letter of 24 August, 1668, which (as already noted) must have arrived by the spring of 1669. This forwarded several papers received from Lord Arlington, including Gary's letter of 7 January, 1668 (see p. 45), and its enclosures. The Committees then announced their intention to send men and munitions, 'an able minister or twoe', and a ship to trade between Bombay and other places. The President and Council were instructed to choose fitting persons to govern the island, and to give them special directions

> to promote the worship of God . . . amongst our owne people and those that shalbe invited to imbrace the same, and yet not to persecute or disturbe those that shalbe of different aprehentions of any other nature; and to administer justice equall to all, by which all sorts of people may bee encoraged to resort and settle there . . . to keepe things in good order amongst our servants, and not to bee cruell or seveere to any; to contrive the well fortifying and strengthning the place with securitie, without putting us to a needlesse charge; and that may improove our revenew, without opressing or discoraging the people. That they keepe a faire corespondency with their neighbours, in mainteyning our just rights as to customes or things of that nature, and yet not to have needlesse differences with them; and to keepe the people in obedience and due subjection, for that wee would not have them lyable to confiscations . . . and that the customes may be setled according to the nature of the comoditie, soe as to encorage trade to and from that place; and that espetially they forthwith engage to the making of callicoes, although they bee course, that wee may have a suply of that comodity, as parcolloes, dungarees, etc. . . .

Detailed instructions were promised later, and the President and Council were desired to advise fully on all the points mentioned.

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In the letter of 10 March, 1669, brought by the fleet, the Committees returned to the subject. A commission was sent appointing Oxenden 'Governor and Comander in Cheife of our port and island of Bombay'; and he and his Council were to choose a Deputy-Governor and Council for the island, who were to obey all directions received from Surat. The existing fortifications were to be enlarged and strengthened sufficiently 'to resist a potent enemy by sea and land'. If judged to be unsuitably placed, the President and Council were to advise the Company as to a better site, and to send 'a module or forme of a new fortification', leaving room therein for the building of a town, with a computation of the cost and the number of men required for a garrison. It was also ordered

that grownd for a towne bee lyned out, in the most comodious manner, to bee walled and fortified, as shalbe found most convenient upon the place, so as the said towne bee under the comaund of such fort or cittadell. . . . And if any person shall have a reall right to such grownd that the towne or fortification shall bee built on, wee order that reall sattisfaction bee given them, before such building or fortification is begun. And in case the pretence of the widdow [1] or other pretender to the howse or castle bee not already cleared, wee require that it bee done, in an equall and just manner. For the encoragement of such persons as shalbe willing to come and build, wee doe order that a convenient quantitie of grownd bee allotted them to build on, for such terme of yeares as you, our President and Counsell, shall thinck fitt, under some small rent. That a rule bee drawne out . . . directing a reguler forme of building, that it may bee done uniforme, and (if with convenience) that the buildings bee of stone and brick. And for your helpe in drawing the forme, wee now send you the Act for building the Cittie of London. Wee now also send you soldiers and their wives, as also artificers as per list. And for such single woemen or maides as shall now come unto you, wee order that, if they desire it and doe not otherwise dispose of themselves by marriage to Englishmen, that then for one yeare after their arriveall they shall have victualls at our charge, with one suite of wearing apparrell (such as shall be convenient, according to the fashion of the country); during which time they are to bee imployed in our service, as you shall order and thinck fitt, but not to bee imployed in planting. And wee doe not consent that the said English woemen or maides bee permitted to marry any other people but those of our owne nation,

[1] Donna Ignez de Miranda (see the 1665–7 volume, p. 68).

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for such others as are Protestants; and upon their marriage to bee free.

Ordnance and ammunition were sent for use on the island, and further supplies were to be forwarded from Surat. None but His Majesty's Protestant subjects were to be permitted to bear arms in the fort, though the people of the island were to be 'reduced into companies' and keep watch outside, and to assist, when necessary, in the defence of the place. The soldiers of the garrison were to be encouraged to engage in husbandry or manufactures, in order to maintain their wives and children, and provide themselves with habitations; in such case they were to receive but half pay in respect of their military service. Any among them found to be 'good penmen and schollers', should be given preferment in military or civil business. A convenient dock or haven should be made, where ships could lie in safety under the guns of the fort. Frugality in all things was enjoined. (The former instructions regarding the manufacture of calicoes in the island were repeated, and permission was given to supply raw cotton and yarn, and to advance money for the purchase of looms.)

Wee therein also desired you to invite and encorage all sorts of merchants to inhabite in and to trade to and from that place; which wee hope you will the better accomplish, for that you write the Mogull is so seveere in his persecution of discenters from the Mahometan religion. And it being agreed betweene His Majestie and the King of Portugall that the inhabitants should have libertie in religion, and the island conveighed to us on the same termes in His Majesties charter, wee doe order that it bee extended to all English, as well ministers and others, and that none bee imposed upon. And, according to the rules wee have given you, let the publique worship bee kept up, and incorage all our English nation to attend thereupon, that all may live, as in the feare of God, so in peace and quietnes one with another. You alsoe encorage us that, if this place were under a good order and government, that you would make it as considerable as the great cittie of our neighbours is in the south of India;[1] which the providence of God having now brought about, wee hope that, by His blessing on your endeavours, in the observation of our directions, it will in some measure bee accomplished.

To this end one or more quays and cranes should be provided for

[1] Indies. Batavia is of course meant.

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the 'landing or loading of goods', a moderate scale of charges being imposed, 'suitable to the bulk and tonnage of the goods, not exceeding sixpence per tonn'. For the encouragement of trade all persons of whatever nationality should be allowed freedom from customs, on all goods imported or exported, for a period of five years from 1 January, 1670, 'the master giving a true entry of the vessells lading before any goodes be landed'. Further, from the end of the five years, whatever duties may be levied,

wee doe declare that . . . all manufactures of callicoes and wrought silks, and all cotton wooll and raw and throwne silk, shall bee exported and imported custome free (salt only excepted, which shall pay per cent. for custome); and also all bullion, gold and silver, jewells and pretious stones of all kinds, pearles, beazor, musk, amber, and ambergreece shall be for ever free from paying any custome or other duty, either imported or exported, or giving or making any accompt for the same; and throwne silke to be free inwards. . . . A convenient customhowse, with large and convenient warehowses (for which moderate rates shall bee taken upon such goods as shalbe howsed there) shall be apointed neare the key or crane, where all goods are to bee shipped or landed; and some able clerke, one of our factors, to bee apointed constantly to sitt there, whoe shall keepe an exact accompt of all ships, with their burthens and ladings, that shall come to and depart that port, as alsoe of all the comodities, both imported and exported; and after the expiration of the said five years . . . that the said person shall there keepe an exact accompt of the customes, and also (from the receipt of these directions) shall there receive and keepe an accompt of the whole revenew belonging to the said island and royalty of Bombay. . . . Wee are informed that it is a great encoragement to the Banians in severall places that they have a little power for the ordring of themselves and for the hearing and determining of small controversies that arrise from amongst them; and though wee thinck it not convenient to erect a judicature that should clash with our government, yet it may very much obteine our end in drawing of them to Bombay that you permitt them to choose out certeine persons amongst themselves, as a kind of moderators or superintendendants over them, and also arbitrators to heare and conclude small controversies and differencies, from whome, to the value of 100 rupies, there should bee noe apeale; this only to extend to such cases where both parties are Banians and whoe are willing to submitt to this way of

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arbitration. But this wee leave to you upon the place, to doe therein as you shall find most convenient. Wee would have you to make publique all such our preceeding orders and directions relating to Bombay as may bee matter of incoragement to the natives or inducement to merchants or others to come and reside on the island. . . . Wee desire you . . . to consider further what may bee for our advantage in this businesse and to advise us thereof . . . wherein wee desire you to bee very considerate and serious. And being it is our desire to make it an English collony, wee would have you in perticuler to advise us the best way for incoraging of free burghers in trading, building, and planting there, and entring upon manufactures, soe as not to prejudice us in our trade, but may rather redownd to our advantage. And for the English that you write us are now dispeirc't in the country, if any of them will come and live under our government at Bombay, wee would have you permitt them. But if any will not, give us a list of all their names, and of their perticuler misdeameanors and wherein they act to our prejudice, and wee shall give directions as wee see cause. As to the revenew of Bombay, you may see by our last letter . . . that it amounted to 6490. 17. 9*d.* per annum, besides the confiscations; which wee desire you in all just waies to improove, without discoragement to the natives; and to keepe the people in good order and obedience, for that wee desire that none of them should bee lyable to confiscations.

The ship *George* (of about 180 tons) had been bought and fitted up for local service at Bombay. She was to call at St. Helena on her way out with stores, &c., and had also on board lead, &c., to the value of 697*l.* Two able and godly ministers were being sent to Bombay, viz. James Stirling,[1] at 50*l.* salary and 50*l.* gratuity yearly, and James Hutchinson,[2] to be his assistant and 'the master of a free schoole in the island', at 40*l.* salary and 20*l.* gratuity. Both were to receive their full remuneration in India, and they were to be given 'all due encoragement'. John Brodnax had been engaged at 18*l.* per annum, 'to bee imployed by you on the island in such service as you shall find him capeable to performe'.

Wee have acquainted you in a preceeding clawse that, for the better planting of Bombay and making it an English collony, wee doe not only send you English soldiers and their wives but also

[1] He signs thus. The name occurs also as Starling and Sterling.

[2] It appears from his evidence at Young's trial that he was son of John Hutchinson, of Ayr.

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single woemen, that may become wives to our soldiers and others there. And the enterteining of a person of the quallitie above a soldier, whoe intended to proceed with his wife, hath also encoraged some gentlewomen, whoe though wee did not invite thereto, yet being engaged therein, wee doe recomend them unto you, that they may be there civilly treated and have that respect from you as their virtues shall deserve. . . . Wee have had some thoughts whither it bee not necessary that such persons as shall bee by you put into publique places of trust at Bombay, as treasurer, register, captaines, or others, should bee under oath. But because wee conceive you on the place may best judg thereof and frame the oaths of such severall persons suiteable to the offices and imployments you designe them unto, wee leave the same unto you, according to the pattent from His Majestie to us and the powers and comissions thereupon to you by us given. That the register should bee under oath wee doe aprehend to bee necessary, and thinck it may bee to the purpose or effect following.[1]

By the fleet was also sent a special letter to 'Our Cheife and Counsell in Bombay', dated 10 March, 1669. This advised the appointment of the two ministers, and gave the names of the more important passengers for Bombay. From this it appears that Mrs. Christian Hutchinson accompanied her husband. Military stores were also sent, and two cases of books 'to bee kept togither in some convenient place'; on the death or departure of Stirling these books were to be checked to see that none was missing. For other matters the factors were referred to instructions they would receive from Surat.

We now return to our chronicle of events at Bombay. A letter from Young, Adams, and Coates, dated 6 October, advised the arrival of the fleet and complained that the captains had not allowed them to peruse the Company's letters to Surat. Replying to a (missing) letter from the President and Council, they said:

Wee have called the Padre before us and brought him to better termes, and have not yett done with him. . . . As for the Thana customes, time will shew that advantadge, and that it is not any designement of Henry Young therein for his owne profitt, but for the Company. It is not onely the desire of the Portuguese of Bassaim etc., but of other our neighbours the Moguls subjects, etc.,

[1] A form of oath is then given. 'Register' is an old variant of 'registrar'. His special duty was to be the entering of all judicial proceedings.

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which trade in and out at this bay; and wee doubt not in time twilbee to the Companies advantadge. But they cannot, without cairo allowed by us, sett out their vessells. . . . Henry Young, as long as hee hoped hee might bee instrumentall to serve the Company, was perswadeable to stay; but finding noe possibility of dischardging his duty as hee ought to doe, wanting able assistance in a very greate measure, and for other reasons to bee given hereafter, hee makes it his request still to bee removed, in hopes his presence at Suratt for some time may bee more advantadgious for the Company there then here. To what you write concerning the French arriving at Vissavah, bee pleased to understand that Henry Young hath made enquiry concerning theire designe, and is informed that the King of Portugall hath granted leave to the French to sett upp a factory at Vissavah; but since theire departure the Secretary of State, now [Captain ?] of Bassaim, hath bin upon the place to view it, and there is care taken to fortify it.

Gary was stated to be proposing to go to Surat in the *Bombay Merchant*. The ships had brought a 'recruit' of 48 men, but no medicines. A supply of these was requested, and also of paper, quills, and ink.

Our present fortifications have gone on well hitherto; but wee shall finde a greate want of our deceased friend Capt. Smith, who departed this life the night past of a flux. Mr. Barbor, wee doubt not, will give all assistance hee can for the carrying them on, and wee hope you will remember him therein. . . . Wee thinke it not amisse that you send us downe ten or a dozen bales of refined saltpetre by next occasion. Martivan [Martaban] jarrs wilbee very convenient, to keepe our provision for a siege, as wheate etc., which otherwise will not keepe. . . . As for the women that are come hither, wee thinke fitt to keepe them on the Companies charge till disposed of, for wee must not suffer them to want. . . .

This letter, which was carried by the fleet, was followed by another, dated 12 October, which contains nothing specially worthy of notice. One written four days later advises the receipt of a message from Fateh Khān, the Sidi of Danda Rājpuri, whose island-fortress of Janjira was being closely besieged by Sivāji. The latter, though he cannot storme the place, only thinks to starve him out, notwithstanding the Grand Mogull commands to withdraw his force. Soe the Ceede [Sidi] resolves to hold it out to the last,

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and then hath thoughts of delivering it up to the Mogull, who hath an army about Cullian, commanded by Londee [1] Ckaun. The Portugees Captain of Choule hath dealt falsely with him, in seazing one of his vessells after he had assured him the contrary; soe he will not trust them, and rather desires our friendshipe, who he takes to have more honour, and would send his vessells hether to trade from this port, in hopes to do it more securely, being but four good vessells at present; some 10 others (such as trade only on this coast) and about 15 smaller hee may send hereafter. These we thinke not fit to refuse, since it may prove so honourable and advantagious to this port, and the denying would to[o] much discover our tymerossity. He would likweise send about 30 horse and some famylies of women and children, to ease his expence of provissions. These things are so accustomary to all distressed neighbours, so naturall and inconsiderable to the provocation of any enemy, that a generall court concluded it very reasonable to be granted. But moving the reception and enterteining the Ceede himselfe, in case he should desire it, twas unanimously agreed on we should attend your orders; though we concieve no danger therein, not permitting him to come with more than 200 unarmed men; though as yet he hath not made any such request; and tis beleived, if he should, his stay here would not be longer then to put himselfe into a readinesse to go to court, and our obleiging him hereine may induce him, if Your Honour etc. can make any advantage thereofe, to a readinesse to gratefie in any honourable proppositions. This place is doubtlesse of great concerne, almost invincible, if not blocked up by sea. It hath 572 peeces of ordinance in it, as good report speakes, and may be kept with a small force; and, if occasion were, some number of Portugees souldiers might be procured. The place would be much more considerable then this. The Company formerly have had an eye towards it, and now may be the very nick of time to compasse it.

If two or three ships were sent down from Surat 'and we empowered to appeare with them at Danda Rajapore', an advantageous treaty might be made with the Sidi; in any case 'the knowledge of the place' that would be gained from the visit might prove useful in future. 'We wish the French understand not what may be done in the perticuler.' These arguments were further enforced in a private letter from Young to Aungier, in which he said that if Danda Rājpuri

[1] Perhaps for 'Loudee', i.e. Lodi.

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could bee purchased on any good tearmes, I think this were not to bee put in competition with it . . . and if wee were pocest of [it], we should not neede feare Sevagee nor the Mogull in neither.

Before answer came to these suggestions, Young's desire to quit Bombay was gratified, though in a way that was far from agreeable to him. On 19 and 23 October Adams wrote privately to Surat, saying that he had been informed by a Portuguese of repute that Young intended to leave the island secretly in a vessel bound for Persia, and expressing a fear that he would carry off at the same time the treasure in his custody. Young's 'brother Lewis'[1] was to go in that vessel, and it would be easy for the Deputy-Governor and his family to get aboard on pretence of saying good-bye and then remain. This disturbing communication was considered by the President and Council on 31 October ('allthough unusuall, it being Sunday'). Some incredulity was felt on the subject, but in the end it was agreed to be the safest course to summon Young to Surat, entrusting the management of the island meanwhile to Adams, Coates, Stirling, Lieut. John Burgess, Lieut. Haughton, and Brodnax, as joint commissioners. A formal commission was, therefore, dispatched to Bombay on 1 November, accompanied by a letter explaining the reasons for this action. Barbor was to be employed in superintending the work on the fortifications,

and for his assistance you may appoint Capt. Bowry,[2] who, wee understand, hath some knowledge in that art; and if he approve himselfe usefull to the Company, he will not repent his pains. . . In case you have any overtures made you by the Siddy of Danda Rojapore of his desires to come to Bombay, we would have you be very cautious in what nature you treat with him, but rather keep him of with delays, in expectation of an order from us; for in case he designes to deliver up the castle to the Mogull, we cannot understand any advantage (rather a prejudice) will accrue to the Company thereby, and we have no reason to receive him or any of his people on those tearms, for we shall certainly exasperate a potent and desperate neighbour, Sevagy, whom we are at present in an ill condition to oppose, in case he should designe us a mis-

[1] 'Brother-in-law' is meant. Mrs. Young's brother, 'Lewis Gerverida,' is mentioned at p. 88 of vol. i of Forrest's *Selections from Bombay State Papers, Home Series.*

[2] This appears to have been one Matthias Bowrey, not the Capt. Thomas Bowrey whose work on *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal* was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1905 (see that work, pp. xxv, xxvi).

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cheife. But if the Sydy may be brought to deliver up the castle to the Honnourable Company, we shall then, on advice from you, resolve on something concerning it.

These instructions reached Bombay on 4 November, and Young showed his resentment in a letter of the 6th, which Adams and Coates signed with reservations. He intimated, however, that he would make over the government as directed, and would obey the summons to Surat. The only general news communicated was that:

Sevagee Raja hath made prize lately of some vessells belonging to the Portugees, and they have taken one of his, which by agreement was to come to the port, by the kindenesse used to another that came hither from Aden. This now taken came from the Gulph of Persia. Tis certaine Sevagees principall minister is very near us, at Penn, within a few houres saile, and reporte speakes himselfe not farr off. The Sydee is yet in distresse, but we heare not from him, nor from you touching his shipping, people, etc., as we expected.

After some squabbles which are described at length in a letter of 15 November from Adams and his fellow commissioners, and in one from Young of two days earlier, the latter on the 13th formally made over charge, and two days later embarked in the hoy that had brought the orders from Surat.[1] An acquittance given to Young by the commissioners on the 15th (and probably drawn up by him) stated that none of the inhabitants had manifested any discontent at his administration, and that, as regards the progress made with the fortifications,

they are at the time of the said surrender seaven hundred, ninty and three foot in length or compasse, twelve foot in hight above ground, and ten foot thicke, all the front being hewen square stones; together with a powder roome, now raised one hundred and ten foot in length and four foot in hight, and an inner wall, seaven and an halfe foot high and one hundred, eighty and three foot long, which makes with the other and the roome betweene twenty five and an halfe foot; all which was begunn the 15th day of February last past and continued till the three and twentieth of May following, at which time, by reasons of the raines and afterward by dunging of trees and cutting of batty, the workemen

[1] Some further documents regarding the surrender will be found in *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105, pp. 173, 178–82.

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carried the worke but slowly on ; many of which, being strangers, lay at the Companies charge for diet during some time of the latter raines. Moreover, wee declare that the Fort House of the said island, with the sloope and two longboats, are in good repaire ; that, many rockes in the mouth of the small bay being broken, the entrance thereunto is much cleared.

There was good store of lime in readiness for carrying on the fortifications, and ' one Eessagee on the maine ' had already provided a thousand facing-stones and had promised four thousand more, in return for which it was proposed to make a gift to him of certain articles already lent, viz. a cannon, a quantity of powder, and a mastiff. There were 910 square stones already hewed at Mazagaon, ' and good quantity at Valcassar [Wālkeshwar] Point ready squared, and a good number at Maim to be digged out '. The tools, arms, &c., were in good condition, and the militia ' have often met, been mustered, and exercised.' There were no arrears of pay due to the soldiers, and no desperate debts were known. Young had duly made over the Company's treasure.

There are now on the island sixty eight weavers, and others to gum and dye cotton yarne for the loomes passnegar,[1] six washers, many of them with their families from forraine places, come some good time after the said Deputies government, together with many artizans, shoemakers, etc. ; also thirty eight bandarrins,[2] each paying one seraphin per mensem and oblidged to serve as armed souldiers at their own cost and charges ; all which (besides many other forrainers) do considerabley encrease the yearly rent of tobacco.

It was further admitted that Young, with Ball and other friends, had benefited the island by lending their own money to the owners of ships, to enable these to be fitted out, and then by freighting them with rice, &c. There were laid in good supplies of salt, batty, and wood.

The customes are lessened by the Companies ingrossing the cairo of this island and abating five per cent. more then formerly, and by burning rocks with the caske[3] of cocoes, which likewise occa-

[1] No satisfactory explanation has been found of this term.

[2] Mahr. *Bhandāri*. ' Bandarines, that lookt after the woods of cocoes, with clubs and other weapons ', are mentioned by Fryer as part of the garrison (ed. Crooke, vol. i, p. 171).

[3] Shells. Hamilton, in his *New Account*, speaks of ' the fibres of the cask that environs the nut '.

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sions the not making so much caro. . . . Three Mallabar prisoners and two theeves delivered up in irons, employed about the works; and one large house, made for the smithes, and another for the sick men. The fortifications stand to this day in about 12,000 zeraphins. The powdermaker promises to make twenty mand of powder per mensem. . . . And lastly we declare that, as we know not anything wherein the Honourable Companies revennues of the said island and appurtenances thereofe have been imbeziled or diminished by the said Deputy Governour, so we know not nor remember of anything . . . that the said Deputy Governour hath not delivered to us.

A letter to Surat from Adams and his fellow commissioners, dated 17 November, reported that Young had been sent off with all possible ceremony and respect. Instructions were requested as to the payment of the last month of his pay as a captain, and as to the maintenance of the gentlewomen and their maids who had lately arrived.

It being impossible to accommodate all within the Fort, Capt. Young disposed them the best he could in severall the most convenient and creditable houses in the towne. . . . It is but justice, and now time, that those with whom they are know their paymasters and receive sattisfaction. Lodging and dyett of men here is pretty high, and few will thinke that womens should be lesse, if not rather greater.

Young having departed, the commissioners held a meeting on 16 November and made arrangements for the regular transaction of business. The proclamation drawn up by the President and Council, announcing the change of government, was ordered to be 'published by beat of drumme and affixed in English and Portugeeze upon all the accustomed publicke places'. Consultations were to be held at eight o'clock every Monday and Thursday for ordinary business, every Tuesday and Friday for judicial matters, and every Saturday for 'martiall affaires'. Certain members were told off to attend to correspondence, and others to receive petitions and plaints. Barbor was appointed to attend to the customhouse; and steps were taken to hasten the work on the fortifications.

The scene now shifts to Surat, where the President and Council, at a meeting held on 24 November, authorized the Bombay commissioners to pay the cost of the gentlewomen's diet for one year;

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and further resolved to build a hospital on that island, and to send Robert Ward thither to choose a suitable site. Young then presented himself and demanded to know whether they had any charge to bring against him regarding his administration; to this a reply was deferred on pretext of press of business, owing to the imminent departure of the *Sampson*. That vessel, as already noted, was to call at Bombay on her way home, and the instructions given to her commander, on 25 November, contain several passages of interest concerning the island. He was to take on board there some piece-goods, as specimens of the local manufacture for the Company to see. Any leisure he might have

we pray you to improve in veweing the remarkeable places of the island, and in particuler those breaches of the sea that cause those large salgadoes,[1] which all who have yet observed declare that the recovery thereofe will neither be very difficult nor chargeable, considering the proffits which will accrew thereby. . . . Wee also desire you to make an exact inquisition into the small bay between the Fort and the Customhouse, and passe your judgment how it may with most conveniency be made a sufficient docke for the security of shipping, how it may best be fortifyed, how many ships it may conteyne, together with such other observations as are necessary, which wee doubt not will be very gratefull to the Company. It will be alsoe worth your while to search into Marzagao, which report speakes to be an excellent harbour and such as may well be fortifyed. . . .

The Surat general letter carried home by the *Sampson*, while transmitting copies of all relevant documents, touched but lightly on the disputes that had arisen at Bombay. It announced that the President intended to proceed thither shortly, in order to settle those 'discontents' and to 'put in execution your generall orders'. In other respects the state of affairs in the island was declared to be satisfactory. The two ministers sent to Bombay appear to have been as unorthodox as those appointed by the Company to the Coromandel Coast, for the letter says:

Notwithstanding it is sufficiently knowne to you that the principles of religion owned and practised by your servants in Surat and at Bombay differ much from the opinions professed by the gentlemen you have sent us, yet, in regard we find the difference

[1] Port. *salgado*, a salt marsh. On this subject see p. 78.

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between us is not in fundamentalls but in outward ceremony only, we esteeme it our dutys . . . to treat the said gentlemen with all civility and due respect. . . . And if they are not absolutely and indispensibly wedded to their owne perswasions, we shall, by advice of our worthy and pious minister, Mr. Wilson, endeavour to embrace them with the arms of brotherly love, under such quallifications as may unite us, if possible, under one body. . . . Yet give us leave in all respectfull [manner?] to tell you that we heartily wish, for the good of your island and comfort of your servants, you had pleasd to send out men of a greater lattitude, for we find it hard to perswade our people from the opinion they have taken up that you yourselves herein contradict your owne order, in offering a force upon our consciences, to witt, that we must have these ministers or none, which at first sight seems very hard.

Brodnax, it was stated, had been made secretary to the Council at Bombay. The gentlewomen sent to that place would be treated with all possible civility.

Among the men you have sent out, we find but few soldiers or such [as] are willing to bear arms. All of them would be officers or merchants or free from dirty [work?]; which we can by no means admitt of, for we are so thinly manned at present that we had need all stand upon our guard, especially till your fortification there is finished.

The suggestion that the principal officials at Bombay should be placed under oath was approved. The draft oath for the registrar had been adopted, and others would be prepared and sent home for approval.

The Padre Provinciall of the Jesuits at Goa sent us a letter from His Majesties Envoy Extraordinary at Lisboa, Mr. Robert Southwell, relating to the seizure of their lands at Bombay by Sir Gervas Lucas, and also, in their letter to Gerald Aungier, complained much of hard usage from you; which letter of the Padrees he hath answered civily, referring them to your further order, and the originall received from Mr. Southwell is sent you with the enclosed papers.

In a subsequent section of the letter, an account was given of the postponement, at the request of the local authorities, of Aungier's visit to Bombay (see p. 190). That intention he would carry out upon the departure of the other two ships;

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by which time we doubt not but we shall procure, by our interest at court, a generall liberty to goe and come without further trouble or dependance of the Governour. To render Gerald Aungiers stay at present the more reputable, the Governour and Cojah Meenas wrott him that the King hath, in honour to the Company, sent him a sirpaw,[1] which is certainly now on the way; which, they say, if there were noe other, was reason sufficient to perswade his stay, because (as their expression is) it is so great an honour that the Kings son and the greatest umbraes goe barefoot to receive it.

Pending his report, the authorities had been directed to give the Company full information regarding the state of the island. All the instructions received from home regarding the administration, &c., would be obeyed, and 'those laws and constitutions' sent out would be promulgated.

They will appear somewhat new at first, as different from the severity of court martialls to which your people of Bombay have bin long accustomed, yet, when they are once put in practise and confirmd by your authoritie, will certainly be a means to render your island, by Gods blessing, one of the most flourishing marts of trade in all these northerne parts.... The first and most essentiall foundation of this hopefull designe is fortification, which before it be thoroughly perfected, or at least so far that the island and the inhabitants therein may be secure against any forreigne attempt, twill be time and expence lost to enter on any other action. The present fort which is now in building will not be finished these 12 months. It is but small, but for the extent very strong and regular, and may be maintaind with few men. It will cost a considerable summ of mony; for though building is cheap there in respect of materialls as well as labourers, yet so great a fabrick from the ground will rise high. And our opinions are that, [when] that is finished, and some other small outforts in the severall avenues or places of entring, specified in the consultation last year, when Sir George Oxinden was there, your island will be considerably strong and formidable to any enemy that dare attempt it, provided we are sufficiently furnishd with men; which we exceedingly want, insomuch as ... you will find Capt. Young was forct to entertaine souldiers of all nations, French, Dutch, Portugalls, etc., meerly to supply the two companies which are there in your pay.

[1] A dress of honour (*sarāpā*). In a consultation of 23 December it is mentioned that Aungier had just come up from Swally to Surat 'to receive the vests sent him by the King and the Vizier'.

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So that, unles you send us out yearly a supplement, we cannot reckon ourselves secure. As to the natives which are on the island, they are, according to your order, brought into a militia, but they are only for shew, not for service, nor to be trusted in case of surprize or seige. . . . We must tell you also that mony is wanting; with which unless you please to furnish us largely, we beseech you how you thinke we can build those large fabricks which you propose. For what stock you send out is all returnd you on your ships in goods, and we left in debt in the country for carrying on your great investments. And as to the revenues of the island, though at present we make a shift therewith, yet you will find that a third part thereof will for five years be taken away by your grant of the customs free. One other third and more we fear will be carryed away by the Jesuits, who are now very earnest and importunate in their demand of restitution, and we cannot well perswade them to stay till your order comes to determine their case. And whereas you please to tell us . . . that the revenues thereof, according to the accompt sent by Capt. Gary to the Lord Arlington, amounts to 6,490*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, besides the confiscations, we intreat you to be assured that it is a great mistake . . .; for Capt. Gary, being now with us and examined before us at the writing hereof, declares that he never wrott so to the Lord Arlington, but that altogether, the confiscations of the Jesuits and other pretenders included, amounted to that summ of 6,490*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* and no more. So that, the premises considered, we beseech you to consider that there will not remaine enough to pay your garrison, much less to carry on the worke of fortification, together with those great things you aime at.

The writers professed great sorrow at having to insist upon the necessity of such expenditure, but besought the Company to reflect that 'neither the Spanish mines nor the Dutch Spice Islands did give up their treasure before a great expence of money, spent in shipping, men, amunition, and fortification'. The recall of Young was next mentioned, and also the charges laid against him, which would be examined later. A postscript of 27 November advised that on the previous day Capt. Toldervy had been sent a prisoner on board the *George*, on an accusation by Adam Sprackling of 'crimes worthy of death'; and that on the same day Young was secured on Swally Marine by order of a general council, he being charged by James Adams with the murder of the latter's wife.

The accusation thus made against Young arose from an incident that had happened as far back as the previous March. Going one

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day to the house of Mrs. Bird, the Deputy-Governor heard that Mrs. Adams was there. Endeavouring to enter the room in which she was he found a difficulty, due to the fact that the lady, not wishing for an interview, had placed her back against the door to keep it shut. A violent push from the enraged Young sent it flying open, and Mrs. Adams received a blow from it which left an extensive bruise. In the middle of the following October she died, and on her deathbed she asserted that her illness was the result of the treatment she had received from the Deputy-Governor and particularly of the injury he had done her on the occasion mentioned; though at the subsequent inquiry two medical men gave it as their opinions that she died a natural death from flux and fever. It was, however, impossible for Aungier and his Council to ignore so grave a charge, when presented in writing by Adams,[1] and Young was placed under arrest accordingly. At a consultation held on 27 November, it was decided to defer the examination of the matter until the President's visit to Bombay; also to discharge Adams from his position as a commissioner and require him to find security for his appearance as Young's prosecutor. Young, meanwhile, gave endless trouble to Aungier by his blustering behaviour and by incessant demands and intrigues.

As already related, Aungier sailed for Bombay in the two last ships of the season on 12 January, 1670. Young, who was to go to England for trial, was on board the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*.[2] On reaching Bombay he made his escape to the shore, but was seized and brought back. Aungier and his colleagues took over the administration from the commissioners, and on 18 January they were joined by Matthew Gray, who had arrived from Achin. On that and the two following days a general council was held,[3] when the charge against Young was investigated, witnesses were examined, and their evidence recorded. All the members of the court were of opinion that the accusation had not been made out. It was decided, however, to send home both Young and Adams, leaving the latter to follow up the matter in England, if he chose to do so.

[1] A long account of the matter and of Adams's other grievances against Young will be found in a letter written by him to the Company after his return to England (*O.C.* 3375). Toldervy also wrote a lengthy narrative of his own sufferings at Young's hands (*O.C.* 3257).

[2] Toldervy was also taken, and he gave evidence at the subsequent trial. He then described himself as son to Henry Toldervy of Herefordshire, aged about 32 years.

[3] *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 3, pp. 18–33; *O.C.* 3401.

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Capt. Toldervy and Samuel Burgess were also ordered to proceed home in the ships.

The letter of 23 January, 1670 (*O.C.* 3403) dispatched to the Company by the two ships gave some account of Aungier's visit to Bombay.

> On the 14th at night, having mett with small winds in our passage, we came to an anchor in the rodd of Bombay; but it was the 16th in the morning, being Sunday, before we could be received on shore with the ceremony necessary for the credit of your affairs; when we found that freindly reception from our fellow servants and those reputable and obliging addresses from all your vassalls the inhabitants of the island, of what quallity soever, that we could not but please ourselves with the just satisfaction we received therefrom.

The 'unnaturall divisions' which had so long 'disturbed the happy peace, both of Bombay and of Surat' were next mentioned, and also the steps taken to investigate the differences. In the end it had been judged advisable to send home the four principal disputants, 'for securing our future peace'.[1] An additional reason for insisting upon Young's removal to England was his intimation that he intended to make charges to the Company against Oxenden,[2] Aungier, and others of the Council. Those concerned protested their innocence, and trusted to the justice of their employers; if, however, any dissatisfaction should be felt at home with his administration, Aungier desired to be eased 'of so weighty a burthen' and to be allowed to return home. With regard to Bombay,

> 'we find an extraordinary want of all things necessary for the defence and security thereof. As to the two companies of soldiers now in actuall duty, they are made up most of Roman Catholicks and black mestizas, there being but 90 Englishmen on the island in pay as soldiers.[3]

[1] Replying on 22 February, 1671, the Company said 'things acted in forraigne parts' could not be tried in the ordinary English courts and that 'you ought to have proceeded against them there'. Legal opinion was against the Company prosecuting Young, and Adams had declined to do so. At Young's request he had been appointed second to Rolt in Persia, contingent on his good behaviour, and was proceeding to Surat accordingly.

[2] See *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2, p. 48, for some of these. On p. 49 in the same volume will be found a copy of a letter from John Child to Young, in which he too makes charges against Oxenden, saying that the latter was in debt 50,000 rupees when he arrived in India, yet 'its now talked he dyed worth three hundred thousand rupees'.

[3] A muster roll of Toldervy's company, January–February 1670, forms *O.C.* 3396.

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The Company's orders to employ only Protestants as soldiers would be gladly obeyed, as soon as a supply was sent from England; for the present the engagement of others was an absolute necessity. It was earnestly hoped that the Company would attend to this important requirement.

The greater force you maintaine on the island for its defence, the more encouragements will you give to merchants of all nations and conditions to entrust their estates and families and ships there; for though good laws, administration of justice, and a convenient freedome in matters of religion are motives of great weight to invite inhabitants from all parts to dwell among us, yet unless there be also a sufficient security from forreigne danger, they will always labour under fears and jealousies, especially since we are surrounded with neighbours such as we may always esteeme suspected freinds or potent enemyes.

Their stores of arms, ammunition, and other garrison necessaries were very short, and a regular supply yearly was urged, especially of gunpowder, swords, muskets, and pikes. The weapons sent out in 1669 were unfit for use, especially the muskets, which were so badly made that it was dangerous to discharge them.

The fortification goes on apace, and before the rains we hope it will be in some defensive condition. A draught thereof was sent you by the *Sampson*. It will stand you in a considerable somme of mony, but will very well deserve its charge. The only thing we can object against it is that it is too small, and wish the line at first had bin layd out somewhat larger and more ground taken in; which some that understand affirme might have bin done with little charge more considerable. We pray you to be assured that, though we are busy about fortification and other matters, yet our eyes are much intent on the settlement and encouragement of trade, of the increase whereof wee have pregnant hopes. We have not yet had time to publish those laws you have sent us for the settlement of goverment and invitation of merchants, but we intend to make it our first worke, God willing, after the ships are gon, to enter into councell concerning it; when we thinke good also to joine with us such of your servants on the island who are able to give us any assistance, and during our stay here to hold dayly courts or common councells, in order to the through reformation of all the licentious disorders of life and conversation, as also of goverment, civill and millitary, and to lay, with Gods blessing,

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such a sollid foundation of sobriety, religion, peace, and order as may bee effectuall to the rooting out of sin and prophaness and the encouragement of piety and vertue among us.

Much assistance therin was hoped for from Stirling and Hutchinson, whose piety and prudence were warmly praised. The former had been specially useful, and had shown much judgement in civil matters. What had been said in the previous letter concerning the two ministers ('being at that time strangers to them') was not intended to cast any reflection upon them, but was prompted merely by 'zeale to unity and order'. Thomas Coates was recommended for an increase of salary, particularly as, having married one of the gentlewomen lately arrived, his expenses were now heavier.

About the 25th past there arrived in this port a ship from Bantam, calld the *Blessing*, comanded by one Capt. Anderson, with whom were 12 Englishmen.[1] The ship was built by said Capt. Anderson for the King of Bantam, in whose service she was then. Her lading pepper, some tortoishell, elephants teeth, etc. goods. She was bound for Mocha with four embassadors from said King, in order to procure the title of Sultan for the Kings son. She stayed some 14 days in port, and then sailed for Mocha. Capt. Anderson told for certaine news that the Dutch were turned out of Japon, and that the Emperour of Japan was very importunate to call the English in againe to trade with his people. The overture is happy, and there is no doubt but your prudence will improve it.

Good store of iron and a supply of nails were much needed. Young had allowed himself the pay of a captain, in addition to his ordinary salary; this question was referred to the Company.[2] A yearly consignment of medicines, especially for fever and fluxes, was urged.

The Dutch pollititians have declared an undeniable maxime that it is cheaper for you to save five (some say more in India) then to send out one; of which maxime if you were truly sensible of, you would be more liberall in your supplys of your hopefull island, especially since it lyes at present under some evill name of fatallity as to health, and it falls much under our care to contrive some meanes to recover its reputation.

[1] This appears to be the vessel referred to at p. 409 of the *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1668–9, where her destination is wrongly given as Macao.

[2] A number of charges against Young in respect of his administration were sent home (*O.C.* 3374; *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 2, p. 111).

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At the request of Adams, he was recommended to the Company as being ' very fitt for your service here and very honest and faithfull ' ; his share in the recent quarrels had been forced upon him by a ' fatall and indispensible necessity '. Several soldiers had been allowed to go home in the ships, others having been received in their places ; and two women ' of evill fame ' had been sent back to England. Care should be taken to send out only respectable and sober persons, of either sex. A sum of money had been received from George Simons [or Simonds] in exchange for bills on the Company. Twenty or thirty demi-culverin or demi-cannon of about 14 feet long were desired ' for chase peeces or to command shipps or boats at a distance '; but they must be strong, and not either ' taper board ' [1] or honeycombed.

The other events of Aungier's stay on the island fall outside the purview of the present volume.

An interesting letter from Gary at Bombay to Lord Arlington, dated 23 January, 1670, will be found at f. 185 of vol. xi of *C.O.* 77 (Public Record Office). In this he mentions that to none of his letters to his Lordship had a reply been vouchsafed. He thought it hard that, while all the gentlemen in the King's service at Bombay had been continued in their posts by the Company, he himself had lost his employment and had not been properly provided for. It was true that he had been made sixth in Council, at a salary of 60*l.* a year ; but he had thought it discreditable to himself and dishonourable to the King to accept so mean a preferment, which would have placed him below his juniors. He would have liked to proceed to England, to submit the accounts of his governorship in person ; but this was prevented by his lack of means. He went on to give some current news.

' The archrebel Sevagee is againe engaged in armes against Orangsha, who, out of a blinde zeale for reformation, hath demolished many of the Gentues temples and forceth many to turne Musslemins. Hee hath taken severall of Sevagees castles and intends to pursue him to extreamity. No preparations are wanting on his side to regaine his castles, and Decan is like to bee the seat of warre ; which wee have all here cause to resent, but God is our protectour and constant preserver ; else should wee bee very much

[1] ' Taper bore is when a peece is wider at the mouth than towards the breech ' (*Harleian MS.* 2301).

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endangered by these neighbouring hostilities in the weake condition this island is at present. Since the departure of the shipps the last montzoone for Europe, the Arabians of Mascat, with an assault as unexpected as powerfull, did invade Diu, where is the strongest forteresse the Portuguezes have in these northern parts of India, where many Moores and Banians are very considerable inhabitants; and with a successe as happy as was Cesars in Spaine, they came, saw, and overcame, and from the cittie and the skirts thereof (for they came not neere the fort itselfe) they reported [i. e. brought back] so vast a treasure that have strengthned their armes with very able sinewes to prosecute their further victorious designes.[1] But the Portuguezes, from a due sence of the losse of theyr honour (preferable to their treasure), are gone lately in quest of them with eight shipps of warre, and hope to give a good accompt of their expedition, being under the conduct of Dom Hyeronimo Manoel, brother to the Condenza de Pena Alva[2] in the court of England; they having likewise the last yeare with lesse force in the Gulph of Persia encountred the Arabians with an equall successe, the victory being doubtfull. The Great Mogulls subjects, having received severall injuries and affronts at sea from the Portuguezes, petitioned their King for redresse; who, being very sensible of the indignitie, is so resolved as to give the reines to his furie so as to send a puissant army against them. I pray God the issue of the difference betweene them and so powerfull a King bee not mischievous, as is apprehended; for it will bee ever much better for this island, and more safe, to have rather the Portuguezes than the Moores for its neighbours. . . . I cannot perceive the French Company to flourish yett here, according to the moto theyr King gave them to annex to theyr armes; *Florebo quocunque ferar*.[3] The condition of this island is probable to bee prosperous, some stone fortifications being now erected, which in a yeare and a halfes time may bee perfected, God sending us peace so long. Since its resignation it hath been much harrassed with a very turbulent and perverse generation that have very much inquieted the repose of this place, by minding nothing more than selfe interest, lust, and

[1] This raid took place in December 1668 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxix. no. 749).

[2] Donna Maria de Portugal, Countess de Penalva, sister of Dom Francesco de Mello, was one of the two chaperons who accompanied Queen Catherine to England.

[3] The arms assigned to the French Company were: on a blue ground a golden fleur-de-lis, enclosed by two branches, the one of palm and the other of olive, joined above and supporting another golden fleur-de-lis. The device was as stated in the text, and the two supporters were figures of peace and abundance (Kaeppelin's *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 7).

revenge, that hath involved it in such evill consequents and incredible circumstances of mischeiffes that Your Lordship will bee more fully informed of by other hands, it having beene my masterpiece to keepe myselfe disintrigued and free from their broyls. . . . In the midst of these distractions Providence so ordain'd it as to bring hither the present Governour and President, Mr. Gerald Aungier, who by his wise and prudentiall counsels hath affoorded great hopes that hee will yett bee a repairer of the breaches and restorer of paths to dwell in; whom both the Company and all this island are happy in, whatever insinuations Your Lordship may have to the contrary from any other person whatsoever. I beseech Your Lordship to give mee credit in this particolar as to this worthy gentleman, who is above any character I am able to give him and will easily by his merits surmount the malice of his enemies.

THE MALABAR COAST, 1669

THE two English factories on this coast at the beginning of the year were Calicut, where Grigby and Petit were stationed, and Kārwār, of which Giffard was the Chief, assisted by Chamberlain and Bendish. To these was added during 1669 an establishment at Baliapatam, now represented by the town of Valarpattanam, on the south side of the river of the same name, and five miles north of Cannanore.

On 14 January the Calicut factors took advantage of the arrival from Madagascar of a French ship[1] bound for Surat, to send a letter to the President and Council. They declared that no manner of satisfaction had been received for the attack made on the English in the previous November. Thomas Boone was recovering from his wounds, and the injured sailor was 'as good as cured, with the losse of his right eye'. To spoil the market for the French, they had contracted for a quantity of pepper at 12 'chickeenes' (sequins) a candy; this they would shortly have in hand for any ship that might call. By a boat that came from the Ali Rāja[2] 'to invite the French to Durmapatan', the factors learnt that the *Charles* had been sent down the coast again, and they, therefore, dispatched a messenger with a letter in search of her. He brought back one from

[1] There were really three ships—the *Marie*, *Aigle d'Or*, and *Force*, under De Faye and François Martin. The latter took charge of this communication (as we learn from its successor).

[2] See a note at p. 350 of the 1661–4 volume.

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her commander, William Matthews, dated 5 January, stating that he was then leaving Baliapatam for Mangalore on his return voyage.

They had bought and paid for in Billiapatan 200 candies pepper and some cardimons; besides the good correspondence hoped for in that port, through a grant obtained from the King of Cananore; having soe comodious a river, and greate quantities [of] goods, viz. pepper and cardimons, there procurable annually.

The ' French Generall De Fea ' had been extremely obliging and had lent all his surgeons to ' survey ' Boone's wounds. They were given in requital calicoes to the value of 20 rupees, and a visit of thanks was paid to the General aboard his ship.

Five days later Grigby and Petit wrote again. They gave some account of the purchases made by the French, who had promised to return in March. Communications had been received from the Ali Rāja at Cannanore,

by which [wee] perceive his willingnesse to embrace a correspondence and trade with our nation, but likes not the place where Benidash was last at, amongst Naires (himselfe being a Moore), and it may bee not under his jurisdiction, which perhapps is the principallest cause of his dislike, but desires it may bee in the Moores Bazar, which (as wee are informed) is hard by said river of Billiapatan; which said Moores are under his command. Yet find him rather inclined to Nelesere [see p. 123] in which place, as hee adviseth, the Dutch never had hitherto any trading nor pretention. . . . Our answer to his olaes was to desire him to settle his resolutions and proceed to pitch upon some place convenient, according to his promise to Mr. Masters, and to advise Your Honour etc. thereof, that Your Honour might enorder what necessary for the same. . . .

A letter from a broker at Cochin was forwarded, which stated that the King of that place had given assurances of his friendship for the English, and was anxious to shake off the yoke of the Dutch, whose prestige had been weakened by the successful resistance made by the Zamorin of Calicut. The same letter suggested the possibility of establishing a factory ' in a petty kings dominions, lyeing betweene Callycoulam [Kāyamkulam] and Coulam [Quilon] '. Inquiries would be made on the subject.

On 11 February another letter was dispatched to Surat, which said that

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Allee Rajah adviseth . . . that hee hath sent olaes to Your Honour; the place desired by him being Neleseere. The reasons [wee] conceive hee hath inserted in his said ola. Of late the [Dutch] Captain of Cananore and Allee Rajah[1] have had severall meetings, whereatt hee was chardged with rebellion; which hath soe exasperated him that wee verily beleive, rather then hee will undergo to bee titled their vassall, [hee] will lay all hee hath at stake, denying that they have any prerogative over his country, himselfe, or any that are under his jurisdiction; telling them that his country is and shalbée free for all nations in amity with him to trade and commerce at their pleasure.

No letter had yet come from the King of Porakād, 'hee having none there to write itt that hee cares to trust'. The King of Tanur had invited the factors to establish a factory in his dominions, and they proposed to pay him a visit later. The coral had not yet been sold; but a further quantity of pepper had been secured. The *Diamond* had arrived from Masulipatam en route for Persia, with Proby and Jearsey's brother-in-law[2] on board.

The next letter from Calicut was dated 9 March, and advised that

Căpt. Vanree[3] is lately arrived at Cochine, with about 150 souldiers, from Zeilon, with the title of Commissary over this coast . . . . [Wee] are suspicious that his principall designe is in respect of our merchandizing lately in Durmapatan and Billiapatan, at which they are not a little enraged.

A longer letter of the 22nd of the same month announced the arrival on the 9th of the *Bantam* on her way to Java. She left the same evening, taking with her Boone, Wake, and the surgeon's mate. No satisfaction had been given for the outrage in which they had suffered, and until this was done the factors intended to refrain from visiting the Zamorin.

Wee heare by severall persons come hither lately from those parts that all the Kings betweene Cochine and Cape Comeryn have bin together at Coulam and are now resolved to unite to defend and mainetaine each others prerogative against the usurping

[1] Subsequently this was corrected to the Prince of Cannanore.

[2] Gerard Hemsink. Jearsey married, about 1657, Catharina, daughter of Lambert Hemsink, Accountant at Palicol. The regulations of the Dutch Company forbade such unions, but the masterful Englishman carried off the lady (probably a not unwilling victim) from her father's house, to which he had been invited to partake of a meal (Havart's *Op- end Ondergang van Cormandel*, pt. iii, p. 31).

[3] Hendrick van Rheede.

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Hollanders and demonstrate to the world that they are Kings, not vassailes to the Netherlands East India Company.

For the time the Dutch at Cochin were 'constrained to looke through their fingers'; and though they possessed a considerable force on the coast, they had not ventured to interfere with the growing trade in pepper at Calicut. The merchants at the latter town were apprehensive that the English would quit the place, if no satisfaction were received for the recent attack upon them, and would retaliate at sea. On receipt of instructions from Surat regarding the negotiation with the Ali Rāja, an invitation had been sent to him to depute some one to treat with the factors. It was expected that he would choose Nīleshwar; and some opposition was expected from the Dutch, who were very angry at the suggestion. The factors would be glad to get away from Calicut, for all the promises given them of justice on the perpetrators of the recent outrage had been broken. 'Ariman Acha' was still assuring them that he was using his best endeavours to procure them satisfaction, but had said that,

except the King sends one of the Rajahs to doe it here, or commands the offenders to his court and cause it to bee there done, wee that were here would bee in greate danger of our lives. The Shawbunders lands and palmiers [coconut plantations] have bin long since seized upon for his not appearing upon the Samorines summons; and others that were actors in said villany, being owners of vessells, before they could bee permitted to heave them off, were constrained to pay good summs of money. There is continually a guard of Naires at the Shawbunders house, which hee is forced to mainetaine and piscash to prevent their laying violent hands on him.

'Ariman Acha' had declared that he was going to the Zamorin about the matter and that, should he fail, 'wee must leave the place and endeavour to seize upon their vessells in this port or doe them some other damage here'; in which case he would be able to 'hew two of the cheifest downe' to satisfy the English, and afterwards admit them on better terms than ever. Instructions were requested, whether, 'in case this factory is to bee deserted', the amount due for customs should be first paid. It would be difficult to get away otherwise, and their broker would doubtless be forced to pay the money, if they did not. No further action would now be taken regarding the invitation from Tanur.

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The next opportunity of communicating with Surat occurred on 22 June, when Grigby and Petit sent a long account of the former's negotiations with the Ali Rāja.

About the 15th May wee received . . . olaes from the Prince of Cannanore (who governes al things in that kingdome) and Alle Raja, the import of which was to advise us, first, that they had pitched upon Billiapatan . . . secondly, that Alexander [Grigbie] was desired to come in person; and this was urged by Alle Raja, who advised that the Prince would not treate with or credit Banians, and that his coming was of absolute necessity; and for that purpose the bearer of the olaes was Vittola Naique, the cheife broker of Cannanore, accompanied with four of the Kings Naires.

The factors were doubtful whether they ought to take such a step without specific authority from Surat, but at last concluded that it would be unwise to miss the opportunity, especially as they heard that

the French were journeyed from Rajapor as farr as Basselore [Basrūr], from whence they had sent messengers to treate about a place in the King of Cannanores dominions. . . . Alexander Grigbie setting forward from hence the 19th May, carrying with him to the vallue of 60 rupees in presents (there being noe accesse amongst them but by that key), and being arrived obteined olaes from that King and Prince to settle a factory, either in Billiapatan or any place under his jurisdiction; after which [hee] enquired of the Prince if ever the King had made any contract with the Dutch that noe pepper, cardimons, or cassia lignum should bee exported out of His Highnesses dominions by any but by them, as they pretended; who avouched all that they alleadged to bee false, and that never any such agreement was made; which is alsoe incerted in both the olaes.

He showed Grigby copies of a protest received from the Dutch[1] and of the reply sent, 'slighting them, saying that in many things they had broken theire articles with him'. He further assured him of complete protection on land, 'if wee feared them not at sea'.

And soe desiring Alexander Grigby to have patience 5 or 6 dayes, and then hee would goe with him to the place which hee had

[1] For a copy, written in Portuguese, and signed by Peter Vertangen, 14 May (N.S.) see *O.C.* 3269. Appended is a note that the King replied verbally that the Dutch claim was unfounded, and that their power did not extend beyond the walls of their fort.

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pitched upon for a factory; it being about 4 miles from the barre of Billiapatan, being an old Mallabarr fort, but well cituated by the rivers side, and water enough for a vessell of 40 or 50 tunns to come upp to it, but noe accomodation of dwellinghouse or warehouses, and solitary, there having formerly bin a bazar but now quite disinhabited. Therefore [hee] promises, when wee come to reside, hee will cause all the people to returne thither.

Grigby having viewed the place and found ' noe cause of mislike thereof ', the Prince urged the conclusion of contracts for pepper, but was told that authority from Surat must be awaited. He then broached the topic of the rates to be paid for customs, and proposed, in return for a secret payment to himself of 200 sequins per annum, to levy only half a sequin per candy for pepper and double that rate for cardamoms. Grigby advised the President and Council to agree to pay this annual bribe,

for by that baite hee wilbee oblidged to us; who hath the government of al things in his owne hand, the King being very old and not medling with any affaire. And having thus discoursed his mind, hee intreated us with all possible speed to signify to Your Honour all what had passed . . . and soe dispeeded Alexander Grigby, after 20 dayes stay there, bestowing on him a gold arme ring.

It was understood that, when shipping came, the Prince would expect a visit and a present; also the King (whom Grigby had not visited, ' to avoid charge '). The Ali Rāja, it was supposed, would also expect a good present,

the Dutch exclaiming against him as the principall instrument of our coming to that place; but hee denies all, laying [it] on the Prince, who with much stoutnesse and resolution ownes it. . . . The time A. Grigbie was there [hee] saw him [i. e. the Ali Rāja] onely when [hee] went to view the place pointed for a residence, hee coming then upon the Princes summons; hee endeavouring still to keepe toutch on both sides, yett saies hee hath wholy deserted the Dutch, and therefore, as prementioned, expects some extraordinary favour or reward, signifying by our broker these following Mallabarr propositions; first, that hee might bee the sole merchant; secondly, to have a chickeen above the markett price on each candy; otherwise 400 chickeens for his paines and assistance, through which hee hath incurred the Dutches displeasure.

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He was put off with the answer that probably Master would be coming down later, and he might then expect a suitable reward. Grigby inquired, through the broker, why the Ali Rāja had changed his mind as to Nīleshwar being the best site for a factory. He answered that at that time he did not think that Baliapatam would be granted; and upon further consideration he judged the former place not soe propper for us, being in a petty kings dominions, parting the confines of Canara and Cannanore, who are at warres; soe that it is apt to bee invaded and plundered by either party upon all occasions. Noe people of accompt or credit inhabitt there. Besides, it would displease the King of Cannanore, who (as aforesaid) is much desirous of our nation in his port.

Copies of a Dutch protest and of Grigby's answer [1] were forwarded, and instructions were requested how far notice should be taken of the Hollanders' objections. Of their coral they had sold 14 maunds 53 ' palls ',[2] and would be glad of two or three chests more, and two for Baliapatam. Money had been given out for pepper; but good cardamoms or cassia lignum they could not yet procure. On 26 April the Shāhbandar departed with ' Eriman Acha ' for the Zamorin's court, protesting that he had not been accessory to the attack on the English. He returned on 14 June. ' Erriman Acha ' arrived later, and told the factors that the Zamorin had been much disturbed by the news of Grigby's visit to Cannanore, and that the Shāhbandar had been forced to name seven or eight men concerned in the outrage. These he was to point out ' for execution ', and then to return to court to answer for himself and his kinsman. The general opinion was that something would be done, but that the Shāhbandar would only be ' purse-punished '. If justice were rendered, the factors could not defer any longer their visit to the Zamorin. There was a rumour that the French would settle at ' Durmapatan ', if anywhere in those parts.

The next letter from Calicut was dated 22 July. This acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Surat of 7 May, announcing a determination to ' transplant this factory and to revenge that foule affront done to our nation in this port '. The factors were concerned, however, to find that Nīleshwar was the place fixed upon, whereas (as since advised) the Ali Rāja had decided on Baliapatam. The

[1] Dated 4 and 5 June respectively. For copies see *O.C.* 3284, 3285.

[2] Palams, 100 of which went to the maund.

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former was therefore unavailable, and, moreover, when Grigby urged its cession, he was met with a demand for 2,000 sequins ' to assist them in the carrying on theire warrs ', that place being in dispute between the Cannanore and Kanara monarchs. As for getting away secretly from Calicut, this had been rendered difficult by the fact that the negotiations had leaked out. The King of ' Carnapaley '[1] had made overtures, but had been told that he must first ' free his kingdome of all usurpers '. The Porakād chief still remained silent. The Prince of Cannanore had renewed his promise that, if the French were granted a settlement, it should be to the south of that town. They were then at Mangalore, treating with the Kanara Rāja.

Communication between Calicut and Surat was so difficult that it was not until 13 October that the President and Council received the letter of 22 June; while six days later came the one of 22 July. A reply was sent on 26 October, in a letter carried by the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*. Approval was expressed of Grigby's negotiations at Cannanore and he was given a free hand in settling a factory at Baliapatam. A draft of articles to be signed by the King was enclosed.[2] The demands for private subsidies to the Prince and the Ali Rāja could not be granted. If justice had not been obtained at Calicut for the outrage of the previous year, that factory was to be withdrawn; otherwise, it should be continued, with Petit in charge. George Bouchier was sent to assist Grigby at Baliapatam, and George Robinson to remain with Petit. A stock of goods and money was forwarded. Any pepper available was to be laden in the ship, which was to leave Calicut not later than 12 November and Baliapatam eight days later. If the Calicut authorities should refuse to allow the factors to embark and should promise better treatment for the future, then Petit and Robinson might remain. After settling a factory at Baliapatam, Grigby might leave Bouchier in charge and come in the ship to Surat. Correspondence should be continued with the Rājas to the southwards; and if they would

[1] Karnagapalli, about ten miles north of Quilon. The ' kingdom ' of this chief is called Marta on p. 352 of the 1661-4 volume.

[2] Two copies of these (made about 1827) will be found in *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 629, pp. 29, 31. These were on the usual lines, but contained a clause stipulating for protection against the French, Portuguese, or Dutch, and another providing that any necessary expenditure on the erection of a factory should be reimbursed out of the customs due from the English.

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sign the articles sent, the establishment of factories in those parts would be considered. The merchants on the Malabar Coast should be encouraged to bring their goods to Bombay for sale. Letters for the Zamorin and others were forwarded. Grigby was to be Chief both of Calicut and Baliapatam, with Petit for Second.

The *Humphrey and Elizabeth* reached Calicut on 10 November, and Grigby replied to the President and Council in a long letter dated at Baliapatam on the 22nd. He doubted the advisability of trusting the princes to the southwards of Cochin, except perhaps the 'Carnopoly' Rāja, who seemed very resolute and had given shelter to the deposed King of Cochin in despite of the Dutch. The required table showing the correspondence of local and English weights could not be furnished, as the factors had 'not any manner of English weights'. It was hoped in time to induce the natives to sell by English weight, as the Portuguese and Dutch always bought and sold by their own weights. Attempts had been made to satisfy the demands of the factors at Calicut. Some of the principal of those involved in the outrage left the city last year in some ships which were afterwards cast away; and others fled later. By way of punishment the dwellings of all these were demolished. The French had been at Baliapatam and had pressed for permission to settle, but the Prince, in reply to a remonstrance, declared that they should not be allowed to do so. The Dutch had sent the King a fresh protest, but without effect. It had been decided to defer the abandonment of the factory at Calicut, for a large quantity of pepper was still outstanding; and besides it was thought advisable to maintain a footing in the Zamorin's dominions. Ponnāni would be a better position than Calicut, as the Moplas were not so powerful there, pepper was cheaper, and it had 'a fine river'. The French had sent a Banian to the Zamorin to ask leave to settle at Ponnāni, but 'Eriman Acha' had assured Grigby that the English would not in any case be excluded from that place. On 14 November Grigby left Calicut in the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*, taking Petit with him, because Bouchier was ignorant of any language 'currant in these parts'. Two days later they reached the bar of Baliapatam, and next morning they landed, accompanied by Capt. Medford. They were well received and taken to 'Cota Cuna',[1] the place selected for

[1] Evidently this was the local name of the site of the factory. In July 1670 Grigby and his colleagues dated a letter from 'Cuttaconar' (*O.C.* 3451).

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their residence. The next day the Prince visited them and ' carryed us to and fro, to shew us all things '. He then descanted on the large sums offered him by the French for the place ; to which Grigby replied by expressing gratitude for all his kindness, and presented the draft agreement sent from Surat. He deferred concurrence with the clause about the customs, but approved of the remaining articles. Goods were landed and some pepper was agreed for ; and then on the 20th they went to the Prince to discuss the article concerning customs. He wanted 5 per cent., and this being refused, he then demanded an annual gratuity of 200 sequins, declaring that Benī Dās had promised as much in the name of the English. After a long discussion, he was persuaded to be content with an immediate present of the value of 420 rupees, and the question of the annual subsidy was referred to Surat, Grigby promising to do his utmost to obtain it for him. The custom dues were then fixed at a sequin a candy for cardamoms, half that rate for pepper, and 2½ per cent. on all other goods, imported or exported. In view of the lavish offers of the French, no better terms could be expected ; and in return the Prince promised to refuse these rivals any trade or residence at Baliapatam. The Ali Rāja was next visited and thanked. He was promised the first refusal of any of the goods they had landed, and was told that Petit and Bouchier would bring him a present after the ship's departure. This would only amount to about 100 rupees, which was nothing like as much as he expected. He and the Dutch were once again on friendly terms, for ' hee is a selfish, crafty fellow '.

The 21 returned backe againe with the Prince to his pallace, when, after a small stay, we went all together with the articles to the King ; where found all the merchants assembled. We presented His Highnesse with 25 chickeens and other things to the vallew of rupees 150. The articles being interpreted by the Prince in the presence of the King [and] ourselves, [he] gave his assent and signed them, and immediately delivered them to Allexander Grigbie, who had another transcript ready, which he signed and delivered to the King, to remaine in His Highnesses custody. Afterwards the merchants made a solemne speech, in which they declared their joy and contentment in that His Highnesse had enterteyned us, wishing him much happinesse and long life, together with augmentation of his customes. After all this the King seemed

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to be very well pleased, commanding a sumbrero [1] to be given Allexander Grigbie, which amongst them is esteemed a very great favour and honour.

Grigby then told the King that he was proceeding to Surat, to communicate the conclusion of the agreement,[2] and commended Bouchier to his protection. They then took their leave. Petit was to return to Calicut overland. A messenger had been sent to the King of 'Carnopolly', with a copy of the articles concluded for Baliapatam. The merchants of the latter place and of Calicut had been acquainted with the invitation to trade at Bombay, and seemed eager to do so, 'provided they might be at a certeyne price'. Grigby would give further details of his negotiations upon his arrival at Surat.

We now proceed to examine the records regarding the Kārwār factory. The first letter available is one dated 16 February, reporting the progress made with the pepper investment. The Dutch had prevailed with the 'Sunda Rajah' to forbid any but themselves purchasing pepper in his country; but the English remonstrated so strongly with 'the owner of the port', pointing out the loss that would ensue to him in his customs, that he procured from the King two *farmāns*, one to the Rāja ordering him to allow the English to trade freely, the other for the latter to show, if molested by any one. All the efforts of the Dutch to monopolize pepper must fail, so long as the English had money to buy it.

For their comes vast quantitys of pepper into Decan, besides what growes in Sunda and Elapour [see p. 109]; and where they will find yearely 40 or 50 hundred thousand rupees to buy it all upp wee cannot imagine. Of late they have bin very cold, and its probable doe begin to repent their disburcing such greate summes beforehand. . . . Their Cheife of the Connera parts is sent for to Cochen. . . . They are (under the notion of a house) building a castle at Bassaloore; [3] which Narran Malla winkes at and keepes it from the Rajahs knowledge.

Good progress was being made in the collection of calicoes, but 'beatermen' and 'washermen' were wanted. Some horses were also needed. Lead, tin, and quicksilver had been sold, though French and Dutch competition had forced down the prices.

[1] An umbrella (Port. *sumbreiro*).

[2] No copy of this has been traced.

[3] Basrūr, in South Kanara, near Coondapoor.

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The *Bantam* called at Kārwār on 6 March, and left some goods and a letter from Surat, an answer to which was dispatched three days later. As desired, a couple of men had been hired to proceed to Bombay, carrying with them some pepper plants, to introduce the cultivation into that island.

Our feare of Sevagy this yeare is pretty well over, hee not using to stirr soe late in the yeare; and after the raines wee question not but wee shall have shipping time enough to take it off before hee makes his usuall vissitts downe the coast. . . . Wee . . . are very glad to read that Your Honour etc. are of the same opinion with us as to the decrease of his credit, which wee daily heare here. . . . The armado against Muscatt sett saile the 3d. instant. Their fleete consists of four shippes and six friggatts. Don Geronimo Mannuell is admirall. Sevagy is at Rajahgur, and very quiett, as alsoe is all the country round about us.

Another letter from Giffard and his colleagues, dated 19 April, reported further sales of Europe goods, and added:

Its generally reported here that Shafty Ckaun [Shāista Khān?] is coming against Sevagy with a greate army; as alsoe that the Sede of Danda Rajapor hath beseiged some of his castles, and that severall of his owne cheife men about him have underhand plotted to betray him; upon suspition of which Sevagy hath clapt upp severall of them close prisoners, and many others are fled for feare. If these reports bee true, Sevagy cannot hold out long. . . . Signor Luis Miranda Henriques is lately dead of a plurisy. There is lately arrived from Lisbon a Portugall shipp, which hath brought the articles of peace betweene that King and the King of Spaine; which newes was received with greate joy in Goa. The Governors ar sending a shipp to China to proclaime the peace. Wee have lately had a greate storme on this coast, in which . . . severall of Sevagy's shipps and rice boates were lost, one shipp whereof was very richly laden. The Mallabarrs have likewise bin greate sufferers. . . . Goveda, the Dutch Cheife, is come back from Cochine, and hath bin lately at Mirjah[1] with a small shipp to take off what pepper hee bought at Sunda this yeare, which is about 100 tonns; which is all, wee beleive, they intend to buy in these parts, they having not begun any new investment as yett.

The next letter was written from Hubli on 17 July, by Giffard and

[1] Mīrjān. Most of the places named in this section will be found in the map prefixed to the 1655–60 volume.

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Chamberlain. Replying to instructions regarding the piece-goods required, they said:

The cotton yarne that is made in these parts being spun for this country dungarees, which are all in halfe peeces, the weavours cannot procure soe greate a quantity of cotton yarne of that length that whole dungarees require. Soe wee shall not bee able to gett at most above halfe our quantity in whole peeces. But wee have taken care they shall all have redd heads, and . . . next yeare wee will have thred spun a purpose.

Some washermen had been procured from Kolhāpur; but 'packermen' were wanting. Pepper had been bought at about the same price as in the previous year. It was too late to arrange for a supply of saltpetre that season. The pepper planters could not be sent to Bombay,

by reason the waies have bin stopt by the armies of Sevagy and the Dande Rajapore Sidde, which made daily inroades into each others country. In Carwarr this King is fitting up a shipp, for which hee wants both gunns and anchors; for procury whereof his ministers have bin very earnest with us. Therefore wee desire . . . four anchors . . . and six guns . . . the doeing which wilbee kindly taken by the King, not knowing where elce to furnish himselfe.

Thomas Wynn died of fever on 26 May. The little money he left would be spent on a tomb. A couple of English seamen, who came out to Goa in a Portuguese ship, had made their way to Kārwār, in the hope of being engaged in the Company's service at Bombay. Pending an opportunity of sending them thither, they were being lodged at the factory;

fearing otherwise theirė necessities might tempt them to serve the Moores, who, having once entertained them, are apt to force them to embrace their religion. . . . For . . . newse, these parts affords little. . . . Sevagee at present being very quiett, not offering to molest the Kings country. The French shipp bound for Achine, having lost her voyage, wintereth at Rajapore; from whence 7 of theire factors are gone overland in andoles [1] for Bassilore, where they are treating with Narran Malla for pepper. In theire way passing by Carrwarr, they visited the Governor, presenting him

[1] Marāthi *hindola*, a litter or rough palankin.

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with a present, and have taken his passe to settle there; which they promise to doe soe soone as theire ships arrive.

The factors did not, however, fear competition. As for the Dutch, nothing had been heard of them since they shipped off the pepper bought this year; and then they did not take all they had contracted for.

By 1 September, the date of the next report, Giffard and Chamberlain had rejoined Bendish at Kārwār.[1] Great regret was expressed at the death of Oxenden, and obedience to the new President was cordially promised. An account was given of the goods ready for shipment.

The French are at last resolved to settle at Mirja, having received order accordingly from theire Cheife at Suratt; which makes us conclude they doe not intend to disturbe us at Hubely, but onely settle at Mirja to secure some pepper whilst theire cloth investment goes on at Collapore. Lett them settle where they will, wee doubt not but to furnish Your Honour etc. . . . The Dutch . . . are very quiett as yett, and wee beleive they will continue; having found to their cost its impossible to engrosse all the pepper to themselves. . . .

The President's intention to comply with a request from the Governor of Kārwār for guns was noted, but it was hoped that he would not be encouraged to write direct to Surat in future. Any guns sent should be divided between him and the King. Some particulars were given of the sale of Europe goods. The coral was sold to two merchants of Lakshmeshvar, and was accordingly sent to Hubli for delivery to them.

But there hapning an unhappy quarrell betweene the Governor of that towne and the Desie,[2] which grew to that height that it hath almost ruined the towne; upon which all merchants absented themselves; amongst whom were those that bought our corrall . . . soe that our corrall still, to our greate greife, remains unsould. . . . This place [Kārwār] is soe very moist that wee can hardly lay anything out of our hands, but in a day or two it moulds, rotts, or the wormes gett into it; and wee have neither house nor warehouse fitting to putt upp a piece of cloth in or any other sort

[1] From a short note sent on 17 August to Surat, it appears that the two factors had then just returned.

[2] The Desāi was the head of the district.

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of goods that is lyable to any the abovementioned inconveniencies. And besides, what warehouses wee have are all thatcht, lyable to all accidents of fire. And if wee should goe to build a warehouse onely of stone, fitting to receive any good quantity of goods, it would cost 2 or 300 pagodas; and when all that is done, wee have neither house, stable, nor coockeroome for ourselves. Whereas, if Your Honour will consent that wee may disburce, besides what allowed us by this Governor, foure or five hundred pagodas more, wee may build a good strong house, and soe large as wee might safely lodge all our goods from yeare to yeare.

Sivāji had made no sign, but what he would do after the rains was doubtful. It would be well to provide that any ship coming down the coast should, in the event of danger developing, remain at Kārwār to take in the goods, instead of proceeding farther.

The next letter (7 September) was sent by a man whom the Governor was dispatching to Surat for the purpose of buying guns and anchors; it related solely to this business, and to the similar supplies desired for the King.

Here the correspondence ceases, and it only remains to notice the general information given regarding the Malabar factories in the letter from Surat to the Company of 26 November. This forwarded a selection of papers on the subject, which would show that

We have rather gaind ground then lost any, notwithstanding the ingenious pollicys of the Dutch to engross all the pepper and shoulder us out; which they are so far from effecting that we beleive they wish they had never undertaken it, in regard they find their large presents and vast charge of shipping maintained on that coast to enforce the Mallabar princes to their tearms wholly lost to them at present. For those princes, being sensible of the slavery they were fallen into, have unanimously combind to oppose them and open their ports free to all; severall Rajahs to the southward of Cochine having invited us, which we have not bin very free to accept, as well in regard of their too neer neighbourhood to the Dutch, as of their greatest distance from Surat and consequently the trouble and hazard of procuring our goods, and the teadious passage of our ships, beating up against the wind. But we have chose rather to close with the invitation made to us by the Rajah of Cannanore and Billiapatan.

An account was then given of Grigby's negotiations for a factory at the latter place, in which he was only just in time to forestall the

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French. What had been ceded was only 'a small fort lying on the bank of Billiapatan River'; but it was hoped to collect there about 300 tons of pepper, &c., yearly, and to dispose of a small quantity of Europe goods. Grigby's services in the matter were warmly commended. The factory at Kārwār had answered expectations. A stock of 12,000*l.* sent thither had been invested in pepper, dungarees, &c., of which nearly 300 tons awaited shipment. It had been intended to withdraw the factory at Calicut, since no satisfaction could be obtained for the outrage committed a year ago; but recently the Zamorin 'had marked out some of the principall offendors to be put to death', and, if he kept his promises, the factory would be continued. Later in the letter the President and Council recurred to the subject. The Rājas to the southward of Cochin had been promised that English ships would visit their ports, provided they would sign certain articles guaranteeing the safety of the factors and their goods.

As to the better understanding which you promise yourselves with the Dutch, from the Treaty Maryne now on foote, we beleive they may be perswaded to part honourably with what they find they are not able to hold. Their designe of engrossing to themselves all the pepper of Decan and Coast Mallabar was first undertaken in the Councill of Batavia by their great generall Rickloff van Goens, who took Cochine. He prosecuted it vigorously at a prodigious charge, and had fair hopes of effecting it, so long as the warr continued; for what he could not engross in a mercantile way, he brought about by armes, entereing by force into severall Rajahs countrys and constraining them to agree to his imperious articles, one whereof was certaine and undeniable, to witt, the exclusion of the English. But the Rajahs, too late feeling the slavery they had brought on themselves, resolved to shake of their yoke; for which they wanted not encouragement from us, giving them an accompt how often His Majestie had worsted the Dutch in Europe, and that their forces were all called away, from carrying on theire Macasser warr. This they finding true, by the non-appearance of their usuall force of shipping, have reinforct their courage against their new lords, and rendred Rickloffe van Goens designe so improbable to be effected, that we hear he lyes under great censure at Battavia for wasting so much of their Companies stock on so hazardous an attempt.

The annoyance felt by the Dutch at the presence of the English

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at Kārwār and Calicut and their establishment of a new factory at Baliapatam is expressed in a letter from Batavia to the Dutch Company, 17 November, 1669 (N.S.), which will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxix. no. 749.

THE COROMANDEL COAST, 1669

THE first letter on record is one from Agent[1] Foxcroft and his Council to Masulipatam, 27 March. This mentioned that Jearsey had already left Madras to resume his post. Complaint was made that no accounts had been forwarded from Masulipatam from the time of Foxcroft's arrival, and for such remissness Niclaes was held responsible.[2]

The two ships of the 1668 fleet that had gone on to Bengal—the *Blackamoor* and the *Unicorn*—returned to Masulipatam early in March, and the latter reached Madras on 8 April. Thence she was dispatched to England shortly after with a letter dated 15 April. This reported that the Agent and Council had authorized the Bengal factors to supply themselves with funds, either by drawing bills on the Company to the extent of 10,000*l.* or, should that not be possible, by borrowing what they could. Masulipatam had provided no lading for the *Unicorn*, and had but a small quantity of piece-goods ready for the *Blackamoor*; so the burden of completing their cargoes would fall on Madras. By borrowing some money the Agent and Council had been able to furnish some calico, and they were sending also the saltpetre they had reserved for Bantam. Both ships had brought a quantity of rice from Bengal; but it had been thought unprofitable to send this to England. The Bengal factors had suggested that one or two of the ships should have been sent direct from Madras to the Bay, with orders to go straight home from thence; reasons were given for not adopting such a course. The advisability of procuring piece-goods at Porto Novo had often been urged upon the Agent and Council. 'It is a place where quantityes of cloth may be provided at easy rates'; but its distance

[1] This title is continued, as being that employed by the Company; but it may be noted that in the letters from Madras of this period Foxcroft is generally referred to as 'the Governor'.

[2] The letter contains also a vague but contemptuous reference to an unnamed 'Venetian'. There is a possibility that this was Manucci, who may have written to Masulipatam during his stay at Goa in 1667–8.

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from Madras made land carriage difficult and expensive, and moreover nothing could be done until the Company sent out a considerable stock. No opportunity had occurred of writing to the Queen of Achin; however, trade was reported to be bad there, Coast goods selling only at a loss. In pursuance of the Company's instructions, Mrs. Dawes had been brought to trial, with the result that she was acquitted.[1] 'If any like case shall occurr, wee shall neede the direction and assistance of a person better skil'd in the law and formalityes of it then any of your servants here are.' There was little likelihood of recovering any part of the estate left by Dearing in Siam, unless Winter could be drawn to part with some of his share.[2] The latter had gone by sea to Masulipatam in a ship of his own, while Lady Winter proceeded to the same place overland. Before leaving, Sir Edward declared that he did so

because he had not wherewith to sustaine his family. What he may meet with there, or have in returne of all his adventures, wee know not; but feare little of it will come towards your sattisfaction and of many others unto whome he is indebted. What his further purposes are wee cannot guess, but believe his returne to England is least in his intentions, at least till he heare from Smythes and Chuseman, whome wee heare he furnished with dymonds and jewells to make his cause good; but it is not unlikely but that he may have as bad an accompt of that as of his other adventures, if he trusted any into their hands.

John Stanford, whose return to England had been ordered, died at Madras in March; steps were being taken to administer his estate. At Madras, besides the Agent himself, were five members of Council (Sambrook, Nathaniel Foxcroft, Herries, Smithson, and Bridger); also Crandon, Charlton, Moore, Wilks, Langston, and the four apprentices sent out in 1668. Messrs. Clay and Stampart[3] had died during Winter's usurpation; and the latter's estate was supposed to have been 'shared amongst the usurpers'. Of the factors that came out in the last fleet, Nurse, Marshall, Walcot, Bullivant, Arnold, and Freeman were at Masulipatam. Turner and Fitch had died at that place. To Bengal had gone Brodnax, Clavell, Main-

[1] For the charge against her see the 1665–7 volume, p. 252. The account of the trial is quoted in full by Col. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 274).

[2] See Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam*, p. 108.

[3] Probably the 'Michaell Stamper, who was a soldier in Fort St. George', concerning whom the Company inquired in a letter of 7 December, 1669.

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waring, Hall, Jones, Smith, Edwards, Vickers, Peacock, Bagnall, and Billingsly. Particulars were given of the goods laden at Madras in the *Unicorn*, invoiced at 21,367 pagodas. A request was added for a bale of 'hallcloth,[1] each peece being made up into tarpawlins', to cover goods during their embarkation.

Another letter that went home by the *Unicorn* was one written at Madras by 'an unknowne person'—apparently one of the factors that arrived in 1668. The copy that has been preserved gives the date as 14 April, 1668, but evidently the year is a mistake for 1669. The letter charged Foxcroft and some of his Council with having, by 'a very fraudelent confederacy', purchased a large quantity of coral (brought out in private trade), which had then been forced upon Timmanna and Viranna at an excessive price. The brokers would of course reimburse themselves 'by consent in the price of the cloth they sell to the Company'; and the writer declared that he himself had bought 'morees' at nearly 40 per cent. less than the rates at which such goods were invoiced home. Viranna had told him that he had had also lead forced upon him at such a price that a loss of a third was inevitable.

Mr. Nathaniel Foxcroft, Cheife Justice of the towne, makes his place worth 1000 pagodes per annum, besides his grinding the poore people in taking their comodities from them, which they bring from farr, at the rates it there cost; and they, with an unwilling willingness, suffer it, thinking it is better soe then to hazard the frownes, fetters, or stripes of an exacting oppressor. Mr. Sambrooke, besides his share of the confederacy, hath the knack of getting mony otherwaies, even to the multiplying the bales, by putting but 25 peeces of longcloth into a baile instead of 30 ('tis pretended to gaine stowadge). I am apt to thinke your Agent is soe farr from being a stranger to theis thinges that rather he is a great partaker therein.

The case was instanced of a sailor whose lead was seized by Richard Sheppard at the waterside. On an attempt being made to induce Foxcroft to intervene, he replied angrily: 'You should not tell me of it. The man must make his peace as well as he can with Mr. Shepard'; with the result that the latter kept most of the

[1] This word is not to be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Can it be an early form of 'oil-cloth'?

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lead. Francis Barwick, Foxcroft's servant, was, the letter alleged, his master's agent in the purchase of private trade goods.

The truth is I know not a servant you have, here nor in Metchlepatam, of the old standers fitt to continue in your business nor in the countrey. They are all soe given up to their owne interests that 'tis high time you displaced them and putt honester men in their roomes; otherwise your trade will be ruined. . . . Their is a necessity that you speedily send over a new Governour (beware of a needy old man), one that you may confide in, that will deale impartially. And if he bring a plenipotentiary power from the Kinge (if necessary) and Company to examine matters upon oath, you will then have all the close practizes cleerely and readily discovered by those who dare not open their mouthes now, and soe to take satisfaction of parties offending whilst they are here, by seizing on their persons, bookes, and estates.

Merely to recall the guilty parties was useless, for they would find means to secure their estates and foil all attempts to detect their 'practizes'. The Company had made a mistake in allowing the Agent or Chiefs to station the various factors, for this led the latter to be subservient, fearing that otherwise they would be sent to places to which they did not desire to go. Recently the Agent and Council had taken Reade into the service, by virtue of a power given them in the Company's letter of 21 December, 1664.[1]

And Mr. Jearsey intends (being fitt for his turne) to make him Third at Metchlepatam; a place not to be permitted Mr. Mainwaring nor Mr. Bridger, who refuzed to signe the order (as I heard), conceaving that the Company intended not that the power given them should allwaies last, especially when they have made such large supplies for all their factories that they say here themselves heere is not business for the one halfe of them. Besides, Mr. Reade is as unfitt as any to serve the Company, being the only dealer at Metchlepatam with captains and pursers for prohibited goods, though I conceave he hath sharers with him, and such as by their power might and ought to prevent such a detriment to the Company. . . . Most unhandsomely doth Mr. Chomley abuze the Companies indulgence to his settlement in this country, by becoming factor at Golcondah for prohibited goods, he carrying thither (by credible information of blacks) noe less then 50 peeces of redd cloth to sell there. . . . About two monthes agoe Mr. Jearsey made

[1] See the previous volume, p. 110.

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Mr. Robert Fleetewood Cheife at Madapollam; a vaine fellow, a great enemy to all goodness (and with Mr. John Nicklaes the maine opposer of Mr. Hooke, the minister); allowing him a great attendance of punes and other servants, noe small charge to the Company.

After Jearsey's arrival at the Fort he endeavoured to get Fleetwood's appointment confirmed; but, upon Clavell pointing out that the Company had forbidden the keeping of more than three factories on the Coast, the design was abandoned.

And truly your factory at Pettipolee is rather a charge then a benefitt to you, being managed by a very debauch't, idle fellow, one Salisbury; not furnishing from thence a peece of cloth towards your retornes this yeare. I had forgotten to acquaint you that your Agent had made his sonn Master of the Mint, which is a golden imployment, and undoubtedly bringes some snips into our [his?] pockett. . . . Of your Metchlepatam servants, Mr. Jearsey can doe your business well, but hath too much of his owne. Mr. John Nicklaes, I formerly gave you an accompt of him. Mr. Nelthorpe a most wicked, swearing, drunken, debauched fellow, seldome sober. Mr. Hooke reprooving him one day for swearing, in my presence he drew his sword, intending him a mischeife. . . . In fine, they are all greate abuzers of the Company in words and deedes, especially Salisbury at Pettipolee, that miscreant. Poore Mr. Moore, once setled at Metchlepatam, retorned hither without order, and with teares in his eyes begg'd of the Agent that he might stay here; which was graunted him. He hath good skill in cloth, and will be very searviceable to you.

The *Unicorn* having departed, Foxcroft awaited with some impatience the arrival of the *Blackamoor*. That vessel, however, after leaving Masulipatam on 9 May, did not call at Madras, but made her way home, arriving 1 January, 1670 (*Letter Books*, vol. 4, p. 332). By her was sent a characteristic letter from Sir Edward Winter to his brother Thomas, dated at Madapollam 28 April, complaining of the annoyances he was receiving from the Agent and Council, 'to provoke me to a rage that might administer something for them to act further against mee'. He referred to the goods sent home in the *Rainbow*, the ownership of which was disputed, and alleged that after their surrender he was told that he could dispose of the rest as he pleased. Nevertheless, he had been hindered in their sale and some had since been seized. Then the Agent and Council

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sent the soldiers belonging to the Fort to seize upon my armes ; whereupon shutting my doores, they in a furious manner violently forced and broke them open, presenting their pistolls cockt at mee, with an order, in case of resistance, to carry mee away, live or dead ; made seizure of all my armes, Mr. Sambrooke being to see the execution of it. Many abuses were ofred by Crandon and others, whoe searched every roome in my howse and chests for armes ; also laid powder in severall places to blow us up. My wife also receiving at that time a great blow on the arme, but by whome know not ; it was for about a shafnet [1] long as black as ones hatt and very troblesome to her for many daies after.

Thereupon Winter resolved to withdraw to some safer place, and accordingly embarked for Masulipatam. He was not, however, suffered to take his goods with him, and a strict search was made of all he carried. His wife and Mrs. Smythes proceeded thither by land. A ship of his had returned from Tenasserim, bringing news that all his goods in Siam had been seized by the King for the debts of others, ' Mr. Jearsy having sent and informed him that I was to goe home for England in irons and there to bee hanged'. At Masulipatam Winter remained until the latter end of March and then moved to Madapollam, ' where wee intend to divert ourselves untill the arriveall of the next shipping '. Jearsey had trucked Winter's elephants for timber, with which he had built himself a great ship, thus cheating both Winter and the Company. By the continual persecutions he was enduring Sir Edward was ' reduced to this straite that I am forced to sell my wives jewells to mainteyne us '. He was counting, however, upon his brother's efforts in England to secure redress.

Early in June arrived four ships from England, the *Antelope* (400 tons, Capt. John Andrews) and *Crown* (250 tons, Capt. Philip Hyatt) coming in on the 2nd, and the *John and Martha* [2] (300 tons, Capt. John Gough) with the *Castle Frigate* (240 tons, Capt. Matthew Crover) three days later. A fifth ship, the *Morning Star*, of 200 tons under Capt. John Godolphin, had also been dispatched, but had the misfortune to meet an Algerine pirate, who robbed the ship of treasure to the value of over 12,000*l*., whereupon the captain put

[1] An old form of ' shaftment ', i. e. a handbreadth (about six inches).

[2] For the invoices of this vessel and of the *Antelope* and *Crown*, see *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 15, pp. 151, 157, 160, 216.

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back to Falmouth. The Company had at first intended that she should proceed on her voyage nevertheless, and wrote to that effect to Madras in a letter of 19 March, which was carried out by the Surat fleet; but afterwards the voyage was abandoned.

These ships brought several letters from the Company. The earliest, which came in the *Castle Frigate*, was dated 26 October, 1668. Her cargo destined for the Coast was stated to be 2,273*l.* in the usual goods, 7,000*l.* in rials of eight, and 10,475*l.* in gold ducats, making 19,748*l.* in all. The ship was to be sent on from Madras to Jambi and Bantam, with a cargo of 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* in calicoes, and in addition any saltpetre available. Particulars were given of the piece-goods to be provided for England the following season. These included an increased quantity of the coarser sorts, owing to the difficulty of procuring dungarees, &c., from the western coast, on account of the disturbances there. Five tons of orpiment were also to be sent home. In future, one ship yearly was to be laden entirely on the Coromandel Coast, without going to Bengal, and for this purpose (and for transport to Bantam) a stock of Bengal saltpetre should be accumulated at Madras or Masulipatam. A greater stock than usual was being sent out, in order not only to provide a full return but also to leave sufficient funds to begin a fresh investment. At least a fourth of the treasure should be sent on to Bengal. The advisability of a venture to Achin was left to the judgement of the Agent and Council. Private advices from Masulipatam had hinted at differences between the English and the local authorities; a hope was expressed that all such contentions would be avoided, as likely to damage the trade. The sale of coral, and the manufacture of articles therefrom, should be encouraged; as also other manufactures, especially of calicoes and chintzes. The promotion of the sale of tin, even at cost price, was urged. If Fort St. George had not been reduced, the factors at Masulipatam were to make all arrangements for the season's trading and the dispatch of ships. Search should be ordered for prohibited goods. Efforts for the redemption of the captives in Ceylon were recommended. Pepper should be obtained, if possible, from Kāyal, Tuticorin, &c. No private goods or passengers were to be allowed to go to the South Seas in the ship.

By the other three vessels no less than four letters were sent to Madras. The only one of any length was dated 20 November, 1668.

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It expressed concern at the want of respect shown to one of the ministers,[1] and ordered that this should be remedied. Walcot had complained that Mainwaring had threatened him; if the assertion should be found to be true, the latter, as well as others, should be admonished to behave peacefully.

Wee have had information that the occasion of this strife hath arrisen by their wives. Our intention in permitting of woemen to goe over was that their husbands should bee more steedy, carefull, and setled in their busines, and not the ocasions of strife; wherefore wee desire you to acquaint the women that, if any of them shall bee instruments of contentions, as wee have permitted them to goe forth, soe, if, after your admonition given them, they shall still persist in the same, wee shall order their retorne and not suffer such inconveniences.

The cargoes of the four ships were then detailed. Omitting the *Morning Star*,[2] the other three carried 29,000*l.* in rials of eight, 29,370*l.* in gold, 130*l.* in wine and beer, and 10,870*l.* in commodities, viz. broadcloth (3,102*l.*), lead (2,299*l.*), tin (1,856*l.*), quicksilver (1,328*l.*), vermilion (585*l.*), alum (226*l.*), coral (1,276*l.*), and dyeing materials (196*l.*); grand total, 69,370*l.* Orders for 'placing and displacing of factors', identical with those sent to Surat (see p. 186), were next given. As the Dutch were procuring profitable indigo 'from your parts', a supply of the same kind, to the value of 300*l.* or 400*l.*, should be forwarded. Former instructions for the examination of certain charges of abuses done at the Coast were repeated; and a list of errors and 'wrongs' found in the accounts was enclosed for investigation. The Company had been much injured by underrating imports, overrating exports, and trading in prohibited goods; any factors found guilty in future of such practices would be dismissed. The charges against Blake were to be examined. To check abuses, each year one or two able persons should be delegated to Bengal 'to have an inspection into our affaires there', and their report should be sent home. An additional supply of blue longcloth was ordered.

Of the other three letters, one (1 December) merely advised the

[1] From the Company's letter to him (18 November) it appears that this was Thomson, who had complained that not only was his ministry neglected but his person slighted.

[2] Her invoice came to 14,244*l.*, including 12,475*l.* in treasure (see *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 15, p. 154).

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dispatch of some additional broadcloth; another (16 December) authorized the Agent and Council, if they saw fit, to permit the return of the 'twoe French Padrees' expelled by Winter; and the third (27 November) desired that 'four young Gentues or Aracans, and their wives' should be procured from Bengal and sent to reside at St. Helena 'as our servants', it being supposed that such would be 'more usefull and ingenious then those people which come from Guinea'. No force was to be employed, and suitable accommodation should be provided for them aboard the ships. Any 'plants or seeds fitt for the norishment of man' should also be sent to that island.

The arrival of the fleet was announced to the Masulipatam factors in a letter of 8 June, which said that the *Castle Frigate* would be with them at the beginning of August, to complete her lading for Jambi. The other three ships were dispatched to Masulipatam about ten days later, with a letter (17 June) ordering that the *Crown* should be detained until news came of the *Morning Star*, as, failing the arrival of the latter, she would be sent home direct from the Coast. The other two ships were to go on to Bengal. If, however, there was not enough saltpetre available to lade in the *Crown*, she too might proceed to the Bay to obtain a supply. Permission was given to Marshall to go to Bengal. The Rev. Walter Hook was being sent back to his station at Masulipatam, and the factors were urged not to hinder or suspend him from the performances of his duties. A further venture to Siam was judged inadvisable.

In obedience to directions received from the Company, Smithson, one of the Madras Council, was dispatched on 22 June to investigate the state of affairs at Masulipatam. On the 30th Foxcroft wrote thither, giving Edward Reade leave to proceed to Bengal, provided no charge fell upon the Company. Salisbury might also go thither, if he still desired to do so. In that case Robert Fleetwood was to succeed him as Chief at Petapoli, with John Hopkins as Second.

The *Antelope* and *John and Martha* left Masulipatam for Bengal on 3 July. On the 25th of the preceding month the *Bantam* had arrived from the port of the same name. Her captain, William Barker, died ashore on 2 July, and was succeeded by his chief mate (Peartree). Foxcroft on 16 July wrote to Jearsey that, since that vessel was to return to Bantam, the *Castle Frigate* would be dispatched to Jambi direct from Madras; the goods provided for her

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at Masulipatam might, therefore, be used in lading the *Bantam*. Another letter of the following day acknowledged the receipt of one from Jearsey of 7 July, announcing the death of Niclaes and Arnold.[1] On 20 July the Agent and Council wrote, appointing Salisbury to succeed Niclaes, and Fleetwood and Hopkins to fill the vacancies at Petapoli.

Two days later, finding that Jearsey was proposing to send the *Crown* to Bengal for saltpetre, Foxcroft and his colleagues dispatched a letter forbidding this step, and ordering the vessel to be sent back to Madras by 1 September with such lading as could be provided at Masulipatam.

On 2 August the *Castle Frigate* was dispatched to Bantam, carrying a letter of 22 July for the factors there, and one of 2 August addressed to the Company, of which no copy is extant. In the letter to Bantam, replying to a request for slaves, Foxcroft and his Council said:

We can make no supply from this place. Those few we shall now send are only such which we tooke from their owners for notorious crimes, to make them examples to prevent the like for the future. It saves them from sevearer punishments, which they have deserved; one of them haveing wounded many people in a kinde of muck he did runn.[2]

Writing to Masulipatam on 7 August, the Agent and Council asked for news of any French designs for settling factories in those parts.

We have some rumors as if they intended to settle one at St. Thome; but if they have any such intent, we suppose they must first treate of it at Gulcandah; and if there be stil any thoughts of restoreing it to the Portingals, that they may impede their progress therin.

Intelligence had also come from 'Tiannapetanan, somewhat beyound Porto Nova', that the 'Nague of Madore' [Madura] had had a fight with the Dutch at Tuticorin and slain a hundred of them, he himself losing double that number.

Writing to Surat on 24 August, Foxcroft and his colleagues said

[1] The former died at Masulipatam on 6 July; the latter 'a while since' at Madapollam (Jearsey to Surat: *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105, p. 131).

[2] The earliest quotation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for 'running amuck' is dated 1672.

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that they had refrained from ordering the *Castle Frigate* to touch at Achin, because they understood that the President and Council had already sent a ship thither. They had since heard that, 'the Queene of Acheene being dead, they are there embroyled in civill warrs'. The French had arrived at Masulipatam and were thinking of settling a factory at Vīravāsaram. It was rumoured that they also had an eye upon San Thomé.

There hath also arrived this yeare from Denmarke a ship at their fort of Trancombar, which hath bene wholy neglected by them nere 20 yeares and no ship sent out theather in all this tyme, their fort being keept at the charge of the Commander: and it is reported that they intend other ships shall follow. So that there are likely to be more than one competitor for trade in East India. Wee had a rumor that there had bene an engagement between the Dutch at Tuttecore and the Nague that governs those parts . . . but the Dutch in these parts will not owne it, but say they have there 300 men in readiness, if any attempt should be made upon them; which emploies [i. e. implies] they have no quiet habitation among them nor can build a fort there (as they intend) without considerable disturbance from the natives, who cannot well brooke it.[1]

This letter covered one addressed to the Company, to be forwarded from Surat, but no copy has been traced.

Foxcroft's action in sending back the chaplain Hook to Masulipatam caused a fresh outbreak of trouble there. Smithson, writing to the Agent on 23 August, put the chief blame upon Mrs. Jearsey, egged on by Mrs. Walcot. Upon 21 August Hook, after supper, publicly challenged the latter with aspersing him; whereupon she used 'much worse then Billingsgate languadge' to him, and was joined in this by her husband. 'Thay continued one perpetuall clamour for two howers together.' Smithson urged Jearsey to interfere, 'but hee sate as unconcerned and would take noe notice of it'. Smithson then told Walcot to hold his peace, and threatened him with dismissal; to which the latter replied that he got nothing by serving the Company, and he cared not whether he lost his post or kept it. Nor had the disorder been confined to the Company's table, but had extended to public worship, objection being taken

[1] The text of a treaty of peace concluded at the end of the year between the Dutch and the Nāyak of Madura will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxix. no. 751. The progress of the war is mentioned in no. 752.

apparently to Hook's insistence upon extempore prayer and his objection to using the liturgy.

Uppon the admission of Mr. Hooke it was agreed that before sermon those parts of Scripture and the prayers prescribed by authority should bee read . . . and, to prevent disorder in or contempt of the publick service of God, which had beene occasioned by the mimicall and stagelike carriage of Walcott (whoe for some time before our arrivall had officiated) I undertooke it myselfe, and performed it till yesterday, and then in the forenoone allsoe; att which time, when I had proceeded soe farr as to the beginning of the Littany, Mr. Jearsey, speaking aloud, said: Sing a psalme; which I readily obayed. Att the singing the psalme Mr. Hooke (as usually) came in; and when it was don, I gave him the chaire (as formerly), sitting downe uppon one side the roome. Mr. Jearsey said aloud: Will you not read the prayers out? To which (Mr. Hooke being about to beginn his prayer) I made noe reply. Mr. Jearsey, riseing up, said: What should wee stay to heare this prating for? and went his way; but noe person followed him but his nephew,[1] and Mr. Hooke proceeded. After sermon I went to Mr. Jearseys. Hee said: What is the reason you did not read the prayers out? If I thought you would not have done it, I would have done it myselfe. I answered: Sir, you interrupted mee; and to have proceeded after the singing the psalme, being contrary to custome, would have beene interpreted noe other then an espousing the quarrell of that impudent strumpett, which I will never doe while I breath. Mr. Jearsey said: As I am Cheife of this place, I cannot, nor will not, suffer this fellow to preach anny longer. The Company have noe authority but what thay derive from the King, and hee will not obay his lawes, and by God I will turne him away. . . . I will wright to the Fort that Mr. Smithson did overperswade mee to keepe him thus long, and I will protest against them for sending him and for keeping that other fanatick curr att the Fort. . . . In the afternoone, the bell being rung and the people assembled att the usuall time and place of prayer, Mr. Jearsey sent for us to come to prayers to the house where hee liveth; where hee appointed Walcott to read prayers and a sermon; and hee abused the Scripture soe farr as to sing Psalm 35, v. 1 to 7.

Smithson added that Hook's demeanour had been unexception-

[1] John Jearsey.

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able and that ' as to his person, hee had gained very much uppon the affections of most of the English heere '.

On 28 August Smithson wrote again to Madras, but said nothing about Hook and his troubles. The chief piece of information given was that

last night came to this towne six Frenchmen from Golckondah. They at present lodge in the house where Mr. Jearsey formerly lived. This day they viewed the house that was the Danes factory, but rejected it as not having sufficient accommodation. It was new built this yeare by the owner, and is much better then it was when Mr. Sambrooke was here. They have since treated about a stately house built but two years since by the Shabander. They have not as yet given or received any visit; only the Second called at Goodrah [1] to acquaint this Governour of their being come. The factor and Armenian [2] at Narsapore are not yet come to them. They expect a ship from Achin.

A letter from Madras to Masulipatam of 1 September says that Christopher Wilkins had arrived at Golconda, only to find himself robbed ' of his owne and wifes child etc.' by an Englishman whom he had trusted and who had now run away. On 8 September the Agent and Council replied to Smithson about the broils at Masulipatam, concerning which Hook and Walcot had also written. Foxcroft concluded that all parties were to blame, including Hook for accusing Mrs. Walcot and calling her a ' wide mouth '. A general exhortation to peace and unity was given, and it was intimated that Hook would not be removed from his station until orders came from the Company.

The *Crown* was still being detained at Masulipatam, on the pretext that her cargo was not all ready; but on 11 September Foxcroft, losing patience, wrote to her captain, ordering him to leave immediately on receipt of the letter. The result was that the ship arrived at Madras on 5 October, only partially laden, to the Agent's great annoyance. This was evinced in a letter to Jearsey of 7 October, from which we also learn that Nelthrop had been giving trouble at Masulipatam. Surprise was expressed that he had not

[1] Gūdūr, four miles inland, was ' the usual residence of the Governour' (*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. ii. p. 302).

[2] Markara (see p. 3). He had been dispatched from Surat to Golconda, in company with M. Roussel, to obtain a *farmān* authorizing the establishment of factories.

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been sent to Madras in the *Crown* for deportation to England; and order was given that he should be put on board the Bengal ships on their return.

Meanwhile Smithson at Masulipatam was labouring at the accounts, which were evidently in great confusion. In a letter of complaint to Madras (5 September) he emphasizes his difficulties.

I . . . doe very well know that all or most of the lead went to Moho [Mokha], where it was sold at above cent. per cent. profit. But how shall these things be proved, though they are notoriously knowne? For here is no person here that before either Mrs. or Mr. Jearsey's face dare say that his soule is [his] owne. All is put upon Mr. Niclaes; which first his negligence and since his death hath given too much advantage too. Mr. Jearsey saith; Hee did all; I was lame, and then I came to Madras; I know nothing. And the Braminy, he dare know nothing.[1]

Another note from Smithson, dated the following day, gave some more information about the proceedings of the French. They had, he said,

taken the great house I formerly mentioned in mine of the 28th past, and also three other houses which lye between that and the river; which, if their trade can answer their port, will be of great advantage to them, for they may land their goods in their own compound. They pay 30 pagodees rent per mensem.

On 14 October Foxcroft and his Council ordered the Masulipatam factors to send the *Bantam* to Madras, there to complete her lading.[2] A second letter of the same date expressed annoyance at a request made by Salisbury to be allowed to remain Chief of Petapoli instead of being transferred to Masulipatam as Second, but desired Jearsey and his colleagues to consider the matter and report. Nelthorp was to be sent to Madras in irons. Hook had complained that Jearsey had 'againe sylenced him, and threatened to turne him out of his chamber and from diet and wages'; but before taking action, direct information was awaited.

The transcripts of Madras Letters Out finish abruptly with letters

[1] The obstructions met with by Smithson are brought out in a letter from him to the Company, 12 January, 1670, which has been copied into *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3, p. 106.

[2] From a Bantam letter to Madras of 7 April 1670 (*Factory Records, Java*, vol. 5) it is inferred that the ship sailed after all from Masulipatam (about 10 December).

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to Bengal of 23 October—evidently in order that the volume might be sent home in the *Crown*, which sailed a few days later. Before closing the book we glance with interest at a pencil inscription which records that Robert Orme read it through on Sunday, 9 September, 1781. The points of special interest in the letters have all been scored by his pencil.

The *Crown* carried home a letter from Foxcroft and his Council, dated 27 October, but of this no copy has been found.

A letter from Masulipatam to Surat (21 October) gives details concerning the French negotiations at Golconda and their settlement at Masulipatam.

Monsr. Marçara, who was designed Cheife here, is yet in Gulcondah, negotiateing his buissnesse at court for procureing a phirmand from the King like to ours or the Dutches; which he hath not done yet nor will hardly be, it having caused some disputes and feuds betwixt Jubar Beague,[1] which is lord of this country and stood for it, and the Seirkall,[2] who is his enemy and opposed it. The latter is a great freind to the Dutch, who (it seemeth) had an intention to bribeing high at court to hinder the French getting a phirmand. But the French being got to Golcondah before they could get things ready, and Jubar Beague got a draught of a phirmand ready for the King to signe. The Seirkalls advice being taken in it, he disswades the King from signing it, telling him the Dutch would give him 15,000 pagodas rather then he should doe it. This coming to Jubar Beagues eare makes him inveterate against the Dutch, and hinder[s] all the buissnesse here. They apply themselves to his enemy the Seirkall, with whom they contrive that the Dutch should desire the King to let the Seirkall have this country againe, and they will give him 12,000 pagodas per annum more then Jubar Beague did. This, although it is plainely knowne to be the Seirkalls own doing, yet it hath exasperated him the more against them, that 'tis doubted some bad issue will proceed of it. Wee have not been free from interrruption in our buissnesse; but they trouble us for fashion sake and only to get a piscash, which this Governor must have, and then we shall be quiett untill he thinke 'tis time to remember him againe (or a new one come). But the Dutches bussnesse is not so easily composed, and 'tis doubted will have a bad end. They have sent

[1] Mr. C. A. Storey suggests that this was the Abd al-Jabbār Beg (Wazīr to Abū'l-Ḥasan, King of Golconda), of whom there is a portrait in *Add. MS.* 5254 at the British Museum.

[2] *Sar-i-Khail*: see a note on p. 242 of the preceding volume.

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to us, desireing our assistance according to the articles of peace, if the Moores should fall upon them; which they feare, having no shipping here now. We replyed we should observe the articles, but doe not finde in any one of them where we are obleiged, in this countrey and upon such scores as these, to hazard our own persons or the Companies privilidges. They have alsoe desired the French assistance; but they will doe noe more then wee doe. Mounsr. Russell is Cheife here at present and like to continue. They have 10 or 12 people belonging to this factory, and have shewed none of their rhodomantados here yet, but carry themselves very civilly, and have as great a retinue as the Dutch; which this place requires.

A French ship had arrived two days previously from Achin, bringing a packet from Gray, which was forwarded to Surat accordingly. Trade at that place was bad, owing to the Dutch monopolizing 'all what concernes the Company'. According to advise from thence, the Dutch had hindered the *Charles* from going into Queda; this was a breach of the articles of peace, and the Dutch should be reminded of the fact. With regard to encouraging the Masulipatam merchants to trade with Bombay, the factors professed themselves too ignorant of the 'manufactory and growth of that place' to recommend traders to go thither, except possibly for provisions, 'which you say is so cheape'. Presumably free egress and regress, without paying customs dues except on goods actually sold, might be guaranteed.

But the difference that is now between the King and Portugeeses, which we cannot see to the end of yet, makes the Moores fearfull of coming upon the coast of India [i. e. Portuguese India], the Portugeezes having some yeares since taken a ship that belonged to the King of Persias embassoder, that went from this port, that it must be meer necessity that compelleth them to goe thither. We shall invite them to it what we can. It hath been observed that small customes hath been the raising of many places to great renowne, and high customes hath been the destruction of others. Wee don't know whither halfe the customes that the Moores take at Surratt to be taken at Bombay might not be a great meanes to the drawing trade thither; and if there were none, but all free, or only some small acknowledgment for some certaine yeares, it might be better.

That the *Antelope* left Madras for England at the beginning of

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January, 1670, and was followed by the *John and Martha* about 12 January, we know from their respective lists of packet (*O.C.* 3390, 3397). Of the letters from the Agent and Council which they carried home, however, not a trace remains. The contents may partly be ascertained from the Company's reply (29 November, 1670), and from this we infer that the chief subject of general interest referred to was the long-outstanding question of the demands of the Golconda authorities concerning Madras.

Wee take notice what you write concerning Yecknam Cawne and his pretence to the halfe customes, his desire for the removeall of the Portugals and having an alvidore in the towne, and the natives desires to have a government amongst themselves, and your intimation of your desires of adressing to our Kings Majestie concerning these things. For the latter, in reguard His Majesty hath given us authority under his broad seale, not only as to comerce but to corespond with princes in India . . . it would bee a great weakening of that authority given us to have perticuler letters from His Majestie under his hand, when he hath already given it us under his seale; and therefore you are to let him know that you correspond with him in our name, authorized by His Majestie by the highest way of his investing of power, which is by his broad seale; yet this discourse with him to be forborne, unlesse there be necessitie. And for the turning the Portugalls out of the towne, wee had much rather that they would withdraw and accomodate themselves elcewhere; but to put them out by force, espetially on a sudaine, wee agree with you would be harsh. Yet if hee should insist upon it, wee thinck not fitt to engage in a warr with him for their continuance. But then procure as much time as may be for their withdrawing, for their better accomodation. And for an alvidore, and the natives having a law to governe themselves, wee doubt it would ocasion many clashees betweene you and them, they being in their owne country, that their power would thereby encrease and ours be weakned, to the endangering of our Fort and safetie there. But in these things wee cannot give you positive and perticuler directions, for, though wee would have you insist upon our rights as much as may bee concerning all these perticulers and the permitting what inhabitants wee shall thinck fitt, yet wee thinck it not adviceable for us to engage in a warr, where our comerce would bee soe greatly interupted, and to the hazard of all wee have there; but you must endeavour to settle things the best you can upon the place in an amicable way; and

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if there should bee necessity, for the accomplishment of it, that you doe make a hansome present in our name to Yecknam Cawne, and others that may be instrumentall, though in a lesser proportion. And doe it as much in scarlett and fine greenes, and other English manufactures, as may be acceptable.

Copies of the correspondence between Foxcroft and the Golconda authorities on the subject (Feb.–Sept. 1669) will be found in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. 26. From this it appears that towards the end of 1668 the Agent dispatched a Brahman named Venkatapati, who paid a visit to ' Chenapelle Meirza ' at ' Trepettee ' [1] and was by him sent on, with a letter, to the Nawāb (Neknām Khān) at Golconda. The latter received the Brahman affably and told him that what he wanted was to ' keepe one of his people in the towne, as there was formerly, and that the government of the towne should be acted by his people, as at Pollecat '. He further said that

When he first tooke possession of the Cornutts [Carnatic] country and he being then with his army at Neglapuram,[2] that Verona, with an Englishman and myself, we went to visit him at that time and carried him a letter from one of our former Captains, wherein was mentioned that the towne was rented by the English and that they would have it in the like manner to be allwaies continued; and besides this, that he at that time had one called Ancapa Nague,[3] unto whom was given the title of Serlaskareen [4] of all those countries, whom we then brought before him, and we made him speake how Chinapatam was formerly made in his fathers name [5] and that, if the Nabob should give leave that the said towne should remaine under the English government, that he would be accomptable for the yearly rent, taking that charge upon him. Also the Nabob told me that at that time he could not only give his consent to his present petition, but if he should have desired then to have Pollecatt, Chinapatam, or any other place, he should have given his consent freely, for it was necessary to doe so then.

He had since, however, changed his mind and had decided to place a representative in Madras. Of this he had informed the

[1] Tirupati, in North Arcot District.

[2] Nagalappuram, in Chingleput District, eighteen miles north-west of Tiruvallur.

[3] Aiyappa Nāyak. [4] *Sar-lashkar*, head of the army.

[5] In his subsequent letter of April the Brahman amplified this by stating that ' Acapangue . . . told the Nabob that he had made the towne of Chinapatam in his father's name to remaine in his remembrance '. This confirms the statement that the new settlement was named Chennappapatam after the Nāyak's father (see the 1637–41 volume, p. xlii).

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Agent several times, without receiving a satisfactory reply. The Brahman replied that the English Company never allowed any changes to be made without their express consent; whereupon the Nawāb desired him to write to the Agent to obtain the necessary permission. In making this report (1 March, 1669), the Brahman added that he and his five or six attendants were all sick; that food was very dear, rice being 'at 7 great cash per veece [*viss*] and 16 cash for every bundle of grass for the horse': and that he had no money to fee the Nawāb's 'porters and bakerdarrs'.[1] He requested, therefore, a supply of money and also of articles for presents.

Other letters followed from the Brahman maintained at Chennupalli Mirza's camp, from Hasan Khān, and from the Nawāb himself. Foxcroft answered in a conciliatory manner, declaring his readiness to pay over the arrears of rent and his inability to go farther until an answer arrived from England. From Golconda Venkatapati wrote again in April, saying that the Nawāb's servants would not procure him a second interview without a present to them of 20 or 30 pagodas; but at last he managed to speak with him and procure the letter to Foxcroft already mentioned. He added that the Nawāb was under the impression that the customs revenue at Madras was greater than that at Pulicat. Another letter from the Brahman of 8 August reported a fresh interview with the Nawāb, during which the latter said he would be content to wait until the Company's reply arrived, but complained that Foxcroft should 'keepe the Portuguezes, being their enemies', alleging that the latter were intriguing to retake San Thomé. A letter from Neknām Khān to that effect, and demanding the expulsion of the Portuguese, was forwarded. Foxcroft replied (14 September) that he understood the demand to apply only to a few recent comers, of whom one was dead and the others had either left or were leaving the town. As for the rest of the Portuguese, they had been long resident in Madras and it would be a harsh measure to turn them out, especially as the Crowns of England and Portugal were so nearly allied; but he assured the Nawāb that he would take care that they should attempt nothing of the sort indicated.

Another subject mentioned in the missing letters to England was evidently the redemption of the captives in Ceylon, for a transcript still extant of two letters from one of these is endorsed 'Re-

[1] Attendants (Hind. *bākhar*, a house).

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ceived 14 May, 1670, per the *Crowne*'. Both letters were written from Kandy by William Vassall, and addressed to the Agent and Council at Madras. Since the full text has been given by Mr. D. W. Ferguson in his *Captain Robert Knox* (p. 17), a brief summary is all that is necessary here. In the first (5 March, 1669) Vassall said he had heard nothing from Madras since December, 1664, and feared that all letters were being intercepted. He and his fellow captives were 'lingring away for want of good foode', and relief was earnestly begged. A Dutchman,[1] who had been sent up five years ago to intercede for the release of the European prisoners, was still at court, and Vassall's own efforts to induce the King to let them go were fruitless. The lion written for formerly would be 'highly esteemed by His Majestye'; but before its delivery, a message should be sent to court, offering, if the prisoners were first released, to send an ambassador to treat regarding trade. Henry Man had been 'tossed with ellephants' for some offence, and James Gony and William Bingham had died. John Loveland, the younger Knox, and the rest were dispersed up and down the country. The other letter was a short one of 20 June, forwarding the former. Whether any action was taken by Foxcroft and his colleagues does not appear.

Before concluding this section, it may be well to give a few particulars (some of them new) concerning the principal persons that have figured therein. Jearsey was dismissed by a letter from home of 7 December, 1669, Richard Mohun being appointed Chief at Masulipatam in his place.[2] In the same letter the Company, by order of the King, recalled the two chaplains whose unorthodoxy had caused such a stir. Thomson obeyed and returned to England; but Hook had died at Masulipatam some time before Mohun's arrival there in July, 1670 (*O.C.* 3446).

Nathaniel Foxcroft died at Madras on 26 October, 1670, and his monument is still to be seen in the compound of St. Mary's Church. His father retained the post of Agent and Governor until January, 1672, when both he and Sambrook sailed for England, followed a week later by Sir Edward Winter. The last named, upon his arrival in England, commenced a wrangle with the Company over his claims for compensation. Eventually the dispute was referred to

[1] Mr. Ferguson notes that this was Hendrik Draak.

[2] Jearsey then settled at Madras, and was buried there on 13 December, 1690, his wife having predeceased him about two years.

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the arbitration of Lord Shaftesbury, who in June, 1674, awarded Winter 6,000*l.* The latter then desired to return to India (where his wife had remained) to collect some debts, but the Company required such heavy security that he abandoned his intention. He settled at York House, Battersea, and in September, 1682, married again. He died on 2 March, 1686, and was buried in the parish church, where a fine monument, still extant, was erected by his widow. The plate now in use there includes a chalice given in 1682 by Sir Edward and Lady Winter.

Of Foxcroft's subsequent career nothing is certainly known; but it may be conjectured that he was the George Foxcroft whose monument, in the then parish church of Marylebone, is noticed in Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana* (1718), p. 130, and again in Seymour's *Survey of London* (1734–5), vol. ii. p. 861. According to the epitaph, as quoted in those works, the date of death was 25 January, 1692, and Foxcroft's age was then 91. The building in which it was placed was pulled down in 1741, and presumably the monument was not transferred to its successor (which is still standing, behind the present parish church), as no trace of it can be found therein. The burial is not recorded in the parish registers, and a search for a will at Somerset House proved unsuccessful.

Jeremy Sambrook, on his return, started upon a prosperous career as a merchant in the city of London. His age then was about thirty-three. On 23 January, 1673, he married Judith Vanacker,[1] by whom he had a family of three sons and five daughters. He was elected a 'Committee' of the East India Company in April 1677, and with one break in 1681–2, served until April 1687, filling the post of Deputy-Governor in 1683–4. He rejoined the Court in 1695, and was re-elected in 1696 and 1697. He had been knighted by King Charles in January, 1682; and about five years later he was elected alderman for Cripplegate Ward, but was discharged on payment of a fine. His City home was in Basinghall Street, and its site was long known as Sambrook Court; it is now covered by the Wool Exchange. The house he built at Bush Hill Park, Edmonton, still stands, though it has been much altered and is now known as the Clock House. Sambrook died suddenly in his garden there on 27 April, 1705, and was buried in the parish church or churchyard (Lysons's *Environs*, vol. ii. p. 271). In his will (*P.C.C.*, 78 *Gee*) he

[1] Her eldest sister, Susanna, married Sir William Hedges, Agent in Bengal, 1682–4.

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bequeathed to his eldest son, Samuel, the ' table diamond ring which I commonly weare on my finger, and was given to me in India by Cassa Verona as a remembrance of him '. The said son in 1711 succeeded to the baronetcy conferred on his maternal uncle (Nicholas Vanacker), as Sir Samuel Vanacker-Sambrook ; and the honour remained in the family until 1754, when it became extinct upon the death of the last male member without an heir.

THE BENGAL FACTORIES, 1669

THE documents relating to affairs in ' the Bay ' during this year are unusually numerous, owing in the main to the quarrels among the factors there. These disputes will be passed over lightly, and some of the letters concerning them will not be mentioned at all. There is also a section, fourteen letters in all, which requires but little notice, viz. the correspondence of Richard Edwards (first at Balasore and then at Kāsimbāzār) with several of his fellow-factors —Elwes (Patna), Smith (Hūgli and Dacca), Vickers (Balasore), and March (Dacca)—relating almost entirely to private trade operations. These have been printed in full (as part of a larger series) by Sir Richard Temple, with some valuable notes,[1] first in *Notes and Queries* (January and February, 1917) and then in *Bengal Past and Present* (vol. xvii. pp. 121–42). They are, of course, interesting as revealing an intimate side of the lives led by Englishmen in Bengal at this period, but otherwise they are of little use for the present purpose.

The first question of importance to be settled was the question of the Chiefship. Shem Bridges had returned from Madras with the decision of the Agent and Council that the proper interpretation of the Company's orders was that Blake should immediately surrender the post to him. Accordingly on 31 March, in a letter signed at Balasore by Bridges and seven other factors, Blake was called upon to make over charge within five days. This he did without demur, and on 6 April Bridges presided, as ' Chiefe of the Bay ', over a meeting at which several important matters were discussed. In the

[1] Containing much information about the personal history of the various factors named. For Walter Clavell and John Smith see also Miss Anstey's articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1905 and 1915.

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first place, it was resolved to dispatch an embassy to the Nawāb Shāista Khān at Dacca, to secure his favour and the removal of the obstacles placed in the way of English trade by his orders. The reasons given for the Nawāb's resentment were the delay in bestowing a present on him, and the flight of Pratt, for which he held the English responsible. For this mission John March, Second at Kāsimbāzār, was selected, with Haselwood as his assistant (or Smith, should Haselwood be not available); and it was decided to offer a present of about 2,000 rupees in value to the Nawāb himself, and to distribute gifts to a value of 800 or 1,000 rupees among his principal officers. For expenses March was to be allowed 1,200 or 1,300 rupees; and when his mission was concluded, he was to leave his assistant at Dacca as Resident there. Arrangements were next made for the investment at Kāsimbāzār, and Powell was empowered to borrow the necessary money. The higher staffs of the various factories were then settled, as follows: at Balasore and Hūgli, Bridges, Clavell, Mainwaring, Vincent; at Kāsimbāzār, Powell, March, and Roger Brodnax; at Patna, Charnock, Elwes, and Hall. Vincent, it was decided, was to rank as senior to Brodnax and Hall. The case of Thomas Stiles was also considered. This factor, as we have seen (p. 166), had been dismissed for insubordination, but the Agent and Council at Madras had ordered his reinstatement. Fresh charges, however, were now brought forward, and it was resolved to dismiss him again and to send him either to Madras or to England at the first opportunity.

These decisions at once aroused a controversy. Hall, on 14 April, protested vigorously against being made Third at Patna, claiming that, having been appointed a member of the Madras Council, he was senior both to Elwes and March;[1] while he was further aggrieved at being ranked below Vincent, contrary to the orders sent from Madras (p. 172). Bridges and his colleagues replied on 27 April, denying Hall's right to supersede experienced factors of longer standing, but intimating that, since he objected, on the score of ill-health, to proceed to Patna, he would be allowed to defer this journey and in the meantime would be sent to take charge at Hūgli, where George Peacock was for the moment the sole representative of the Company. On 7 May an order was sent, directing Hall to

[1] According to the Balasore letter of 29 November, Hall's wish was to be made Second at Kāsimbāzār, with a view to succeeding Powell on the latter's departure.

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proceed immediately to take up that post, and giving him, amongst others, the following instructions.

Wee are latly advised that Malleeke Cassum, the Governor of Hughly, is arrived from Decca, having obteined an addition to his goverment. The Bannian advises that his deniall of our passing the Companies goods out of towne custom free by dustickes to those men to which they are sold is the occation that most of them lye unsold, and, if the Governor take this course, soe contrary to our priveledges, they may lye in warehouse from yeares end to yeares end, unless we will dispose them to him (which is his aime) at dispicable rates. Therefore you must be very active and stirring to remove this impediment. . . . The Cheife . . . has now writ to him about this busines . . . which letter . . . you must take care to deliver him, going yourselfe to vissitt him. According to the country custome, which admitts not empty vissitts, you must lay him downe a 20*s.* peice of gold and three rupees. If you find that neither the Cheifes letter nor your indeavors can remove this abuse . . . advise us theireof, that wee may trye for a redresse at the Nabobs court.

Hall might occupy the room under the Second's lodgings, or else that formerly used by Elwes. For diet the allowance was 20 rupees per mensem (at 2*s.* 6*d.* the rupee); and fifty rupees would be given him for travelling expenses.

Hall, however, was as unwilling to go to Hūgli as to Patna. The sequel is given in a letter from Vickers to Edwards, dated 25 May. After mentioning Hall's appointment to Hūgli, he says that at first no opposition was made.

But uppon some time of consideration the gentleman denyed to goe, except they would give him leave to repair hither at the Europe shipps arrivall, to negotiate his owne affaires. But instead of complying with his desires, they have (to our great comfort) turned the gentleman out of the Companies service. . . . He hath taken up his residence with Mr. Stiles, who is likewise turnd out of employment.

Hall's endeavour to make terms before obeying instructions was not his sole offence. On 12 May he had addressed a letter to Bridges, declaring that the Company's standing orders were being disregarded in several respects. Divine service was held on Sundays only; Bridges's private trade was not being registered; men were

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admitted to Council who had not been appointed by the Company; the books were not laid open for inspection by the general body of factors; the accounts were being kept by Banians; the so-called grants of privilege did not exist, the native officials being bribed by yearly presents 'to believe what the English affirme'; and so forth. To this Bridges on the same day made a cutting reply. He said that the injunction regarding daily prayers could not be obeyed,

unless the Company will allow the building of large factories and convenient places apart for the excercise of divine dutyes, that whilst wee are at prayer wee may not bee disturbed or gazed on by the workmen and coolyes that are continually about the factory, nor bee forced to breake of upon the visitt of a Governour or any other person of quallity, who cannott bee kept at door untill wee have finished our oraisons (there being no other place to entertaine them in than the hall, which must bee our church), it being there custome to admitt us, though they bee at the excercize thereof; and the time of visitts is gennerally in the morning or evening. That wee have divine service once on the Sunday is as much as can bee expected in these hot countries; for neither a mans spirits nor voice can hold touch here with long dutyes, and I must confess that for my owne part I cannott performe more than what I doe on the Sunday, which is to read the Psalmes and Lessons for the day, part of the Lyturgy, and a sermon; which is thought too much by some of the Companies servants, since they cannott bee brought to heare any thereof.

As regards the registration of private trade, Bridges contended that the regulation did not apply to Chiefs. Hall's exclusion from Council was justified on the ground of his want of experience, apart from the loss of prestige that would ensue if they admitted 'a person that runs up and downe the towne, more like a pedlar than a marchant or one fitt for Councill, proffering his knives, scissers, and other trumpery at every shop in the bazar'. The registers would have been laid open for inspection long before, had there been a suitable office available. As soon as Blake's accounts were made up, the Banian would only be employed as an assistant to the factor in charge of the books. With regard to the grants of privileges,

custome free hee esteems no priviledge; and hee glances at the Princes nessaun . . . that was got by stratagem to mention the forgiving of custome according to the Kings phirmaund; which is

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a flaw, but this countrey being ruled by custome as much as law, wee need not feare its being call'd in question, having been confirmed by Mosan Caun and Shasti Caun.[1]

Hall having thus been disposed of, William Bagnall was on 28 May appointed to proceed to Hūgli in his place. His instructions mentioned that the Governor of that place, having borrowed from the Nawāb 300,000 rupees at 25 per cent. per annum, was seeking to engross all the trade. If a present of broadcloth, &c., should fail to procure freedom from interference, representations would have to be offered at Dacca. Inquiry was to be made as to the debts contracted by Blake, 'on the townes hee rented for the Company'. Living expenses were not to exceed 30 rupees per mensem for the two factors (himself and Peacock).

In addition to his controversies with Stiles and Hall, Bridges had on hand a still more troublesome business in settling affairs with Blake, the late Chief. The Company's demands upon the latter were mixed up with claims on account of Stiles and Pratt; and this tangled business must be passed over lightly. One matter of great concern was the disposal of the boxes belonging to the late Mu'azzam Khān (see p. 174).[2] Since proclamations had been made at the time requiring the declaration of any effects belonging to him, and his son, Muhammad Amīn Khān, was in great favour at court and was expected to succeed Shāista Khān as Nawāb of Bengal, the factors were afraid of the consequences that might ensue. March was accordingly instructed to acquaint Shāista Khān that the boxes had been overlooked and only just found; while Muhammad Amīn Khān's factor was informed to the same effect. Further, Blake was called upon, in a letter of 11 June, to give a bond for 20,000*l.* to settle the business before leaving for England; also to pay in 50,000 rupees and sign a bond for 13,800*l.* more to meet any claims that might be made on this account. To this Blake replied the following day, asserting that Bridges was equally responsible for the detention of the boxes, and repudiating any further responsibility in the matter. Bridges and his colleagues thereupon held a con-

[1] For Shāh Shuja's *nishān* see the 1655–60 volume, p. 415. The *parwāna* from Mu'azzam Khān is given on the page following; and that granted by Shāista Khān is described on p. 395 of the 1661–4 volume.

[2] Summaries of the resulting correspondence will be found in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii. pp. 119–24.

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sultation (14 June) and resolved to send the boxes to Blake's house, and to order him to remove the Company's seals which he had placed upon them. However, the factors sent upon this errand found Blake absent, and, after long waiting, had to be content with leaving the parcels and the accompanying letters at his house (*O.C.* 3296).

The arrival of the *Antelope* and *John and Martha* turned for a while the thoughts of Bridges and his Council to other matters. The ships brought two letters from the Company, dated 20 November and 9 December, 1668. The former advised the quantity of goods and treasure ordered to be sent to Bengal, amounting to about 34,000*l.*,[1] and gave instructions for the speedy relading and dispatch of the ships. The goods desired were then enumerated. Special care was to be taken in the manufacture of taffetas; for which end the Company had sent out Roger Fowler, 'an able, skilfull silk dier', with a supply of materials. His salary was to be 60*l.*, of which half was to be paid him in India. He was 'an ancient person, and one whoe hath lived in good repute in London, till it pleased God to make him a sufferer in the late dreadfull fire'. Search was to be made for prohibited goods brought in the fleet. A supply of cotton yarn was ordered. In order to encourage the ships to go up the Ganges estuary, the former promise of 10*s.* a ton extra freight on all goods shipped at Hūgli had been renewed, and the commanders of the present vessels seemed willing to venture, if provided with able pilots. It was desired therefore

to have divers able persons instructed as pylotts for that service; the which the better to accomplish, let those that doe comaund the vessells up and downe the river put all persons, from the youngest to the eldest, upon taking depths, sholdings, setting of tydes, currents, distances, buoyes, and making of drafts of the river, or what elce needfull. . . . And for a suply of young men to bee bredd up, wee have enterteined as aprentizes for seaven yeares George Hieoron,[2] James White, Thomas Massen, James Ferborne, John Floyd, and Thomas Bateman; the first three yeares at 6*l.*, the next two yeares at 7*l.*, and the last two yeares at 8*l.* per annum, the whole to bee paid them by you for their provision of clothes.

[1] According to a Madras letter of 18 June, the two ships actually brought 20,000*l.* in rials of eight and about 9,270*l.* in goods.

[2] The Heron, Herne, or Herring of *Hedges' Diary*.

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If necessary, a small vessel of 40 or 50 tons might be built for the same purpose.[1] A quantity of tin had been sent for sale, and, 'being very desirous to gaine a vent for our native comodities in all parts', the Company authorized its sale at the prime cost and charges. The maintenance of good order in the factories and of 'a good corespondency with the natives' was enjoined. Charges against Blake were to be investigated. The Agent and Council had been instructed to send yearly into the Bay one or more persons to inspect the factories; and a warning was given that any one concealing the misdemeanours of others would be adjudged guilty also. The second letter merely ordered a supply of white taffetas, suitable for dyeing.

At a consultation held on 17 July by Bridges, Clavell, Mainwaring, and Vincent, arrangements were made for sending part of the treasure and goods received to Kāsimbāzār and Patna, while Brodnax was ordered to proceed at once to his station at the former place. He, however, imitated Hall by refusing, in a letter of 21 July, to accept the post, alleging that it was 'not in quallity to my employment', and that his wife's ill-health would not allow of her accompanying him to such a place.

Meanwhile both Hall and Stiles had been giving trouble by their demands and protests. In August arrived a letter from Madras of 28 June, in which it was pointed out that Stiles, being a member of the Council, could only be dismissed by the home authorities; while even in the case of servants of lower degree their removal was a matter for the decision of the Agent and Council at Fort St. George. As regards Hall, if it were true that his health was too bad for him to go to Patna, Stiles might be sent instead. In consequence of this letter Bridges and his Council intimated (17 Aug.) to both Stiles and Hall that they would be re-admitted to the service and to the factory. The former made no difficulty about resuming his place; but Hall was in a more truculent mood. He replied by pointing out that no mention had been made of refunding the expenses he had incurred through his exclusion from the factory, and he demanded also his 'right in place of settlement' and an assurance that Bridges and his Council would not commit any further breach of the Company's orders. To these demands the Chief made no reply, and Hall remained defiant.

[1] These orders, as Sir Henry Yule notes (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 197), 'may be regarded as the foundation of the Bengal Pilot Service.'

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As regards Blake, the Madras letter suggested that, if he could not procure a sufficient discharge from those who had an interest in Mu'azzam Khān's boxes, these should be opened in the presence of some ' publique persons (Pertians or Gentues) ', and an inventory taken of their contents. A hope was expressed that the Hūgli River would be explored in time for the ships to go up it the following year, at all events. The death of Matthew Launce was regretted. Marshall, Reade, and Salisbury had been granted permission to go to Bengal. If Powell were determined to return to England, March was to succeed him at Kāsimbāzār.

A consultation was held on 24 August, at which it was resolved to insist upon Brodnax repairing to Kāsimbāzār (with promise of the post of Second upon the departure of Powell) and to send Stiles to Hūglī. Both factors, however, refused to obey these orders ; and Bridges, not having the power to dismiss them, had no means of enforcing obedience. To make matters more difficult for him, Hall, Stiles, and Brodnax were openly partisans of Blake and were loudly protesting against Bridges's treatment of him, particularly in the matter of the much disputed boxes.

On 16 August the Agent and Council at Fort St. George addressed a fresh letter to Bengal. This peremptorily ordered the reinstatement of Stiles and Hall, with compensation for any expenses caused by their expulsion. Bridges's action in sending information to Dacca about the boxes was roundly condemned, for otherwise ' the business might have slept without demand, as it hath for so many yeares ' ; and he was forbidden to hinder Blake from leaving Bengal. A hope was expressed that both ships would be fully laden there.

Meanwhile, early in August an order came from Shāista Khān to the Governor of Balasore to send Blake up to Dacca with the boxes ; and in an angry letter to Bridges and his colleagues (21 August) Blake declared that at their instigation the Governor had kept a guard of soldiers at his door from the 6th of the month, and that they had told him that Blake had broken the seals of the boxes and had taken out part of their contents. A week later Blake demanded that instructions should be sent to March to apply to the Nawāb for the withdrawal of the order for Blake's appearance at Dacca ; and in the event of his being forced to proceed thither, he threatened to urge Shāista Khān to call up Bridges as well, to be present at the

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opening of the boxes. This threat may have induced the latter to urge the Governor to adopt milder measures; for, writing to Madras on 11 September, Bridges and his Council said that

the order not being pen'd so substantiall that the Governour could use force, he withdrew his peons and, after frequent and fruitles journeyes to the factory and Mr. Blakes, indevouring and proposing a meanes for composition, by Mr. Blakes joyning with the Cheife (which he was willing to, upon receiveing security under Mr. Blakes hand and seale, to represent the matter to the Nabob for their view and delivery here) advised the progresse of the business to Decca, from whence shortly may bee expected an answer.

Bridges declared that an offer of assistance had been made to Blake, provided he would give security to save the Company from all damages, but he had refused to do anything of the kind. 'He haveing before declared himselfe unconcerned in, and us lyable to their delivery', they judged it contrary to their duty to the Company to take any responsibility by interfering further.

In this same letter Foxcroft and his Council were informed that the factors were doing their best to provide cargoes for the two ships, but should be unable to fill them, owing to the tardy and small supply of means to purchase goods. Bridges had had to advance 30,000 rupees of his own money to provide cotton yarn, &c., 'the town being beyond usuall bare of mony, and Europe goods not vendible'. Every effort would be made to get the saltpetre down from Patna in time. The factors there had been directed to send it in 'small pulwars [1] or boats'; while the Kāsimbāzār factors had been ordered that, should the lowness of the river prevent the boats from coming nearer than 'Merdoudpore',[2] the saltpetre should be fetched from thence by oxen and so sent down 'on small dingees or fishing boates to Hughly, where a great boat of the Companies shall lye ready to take it in and proceed with it aboard ship'. The money received could not help in the present year's saltpetre investments, but would be used in making advances for the following season, the practice being to give out the money from September to June.

[1] Hind. *palwār*, a river boat of 12–15 tons.

[2] This is doubtless Hedges's 'Merdadpore, a towne within 4 or 5 hours travell of Cassumbazar' (*Diary*, vol. i. p. 33). His editor (vol. 3, p. 219) concludes that it was near one of the exits of the Jelinghi from the Ganges, but this seems to place it too far to the east. Valentyn (pt. v. p. 149) says that 'Mierdapoer' was five Dutch miles north-east of Murshidābād.

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In Cassumbuzar and Ballasore . . . the violent raines and overflowings much obstruct the procury of goods (which are not made in towne, but at a considerable distance) by the dangerous and tedious transportation of effects and confining the weavers to theire poore cottage[s], where they have not accomodation to worke.

Powell had been urged to remain at Kāsimbāzār for another year; but, in view of the reiterated solicitations from his relatives and the ill-health of his wife, he had decided to go home at once. March had accordingly been summoned from Dacca to take his place. Since the factors were in debt nearly 8,000*l.* at the arrival of the ships, there would be little cash available for the next season's investment. Powell had complained that Blake was making private investments at Kāsimbāzār, apparently on Hall's behalf. Blake had told the Governor that he expected an order from Madras to take over the Chiefship from Bridges, and that he had seen a letter from thence wherein 'we were ordred to take the surrendry of the Mier Jumlahs boxes upon ourselves'. His contention was that 'he had given security to the Company and that they were to respond in this country for whatever he had acted therein . . . and if anything were misliked by them, they were to call him to accompt for it at home'. Powell was urging the necessity of enlarging the factory at Kāsimbāzār.

That house (as he informes us) containes but two roomes for the Chiefe, one small one (which is taken out of the warehouse) for the Second, and two small thatcht open roomes or bungelloes for the writers; besides a large roome over the gatehouse, which is alwaies reserved for the enterteining the Governour or merchants in or to accomodate the Chiefe of the Bay, when our masters affaires call him thither. Wherefore there will bee a necessity for an additionall building, both of a warehouse and roomes for the factors, which wee desire you to permit; for there are noe convenient houses adjacent to the factory to bee rented out, and if there were, it would bee incommodious and not creditable in that place for married persons to live in them; and for the young men it would bee a meanes and oppertunity to deprave them. In our last wee acquainted you the necessity for and convenience would accrew by building a factory and warehouse for peter some distance from Pattana (the house at Singee[1] being levelled two yeers since by a storme); and doe now againe represent it to your considera-

[1] Singhiya, near Lalganj, about fifteen miles north of Patna.

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tions, Mr. Charnock etc. haveing lately reiterated theire requests for permission and pleaded the benifit it will bee to the enlargement of the saltpeter investment. . . . The condition of Ballasore factory is as bad, nay worse then any of the rest; for though it has the outward appearance of a house (by the reparations wee were constrained to make since our comeing downe, to keepe out the raine), yet it is so deceitfull and decrepit that every blast threatens us with its fall. And the accommodations thereof so poore and homely, being constituted of mud and thatch, darke, low, and moist, which render it unhealthfull to men and damageable to goods, and the roomes soe few, whereby each is crouded with two and three persons, that it is in no wise for the credit of our masters, preservation of theire servants healthes, nor security of theire estates, to forbeare the erecting a new and substantiall fabrick in this place, if there shall be found a necessity to continue the factory, through the non procedure of the shipps to Hugly. Our number of factors being now larger then at any time heretofore, Hugly factory (though the most capatious) will bee too narrow for that part of them designed to bee reteined there; since the married persons cannot be restrained within so small accomodations as the single, and the whole factory containes but 7 lodging roomes, besides the Chief and Seconds lodgings and the writeing office.

The *Diligence* had been sent to Hūgli on 19 August, carrying goods and treasure, with order to bring back saltpetre. It was hoped to dispatch the two ships before the end of November; and after that, either the *Diligence* or the *Madras* pinnace would be employed 'in discovery of the river, there not being men suffitient to man both'. The *Diligence* was judged unsuitable for the task, and should be recalled to the Coast.

Wee did also in our last informe you that the improperness of our pilots would frustrate our desires of the rivers th[o]rough discovery; and therefore wee cannot omit repeateing our request that, if possible, you will procure us one or two that may perfect the worke; for of those four mariners arryved by these ships two of them are too hebede [1] and dull for pilots and the other[s] too younge to be entrusted with the charge of a sloope, much less a ship, for some yeeres. If wee can search the channell . . . soe as to carry the next that arrive to the usuall rideing place, some 12 leagues below Hugly, it will bee a greate convenience to our masters affaires, as well in reduceing this factory (and thereby

[1] More usual as 'hebete' (stupid, obtuse).

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easeing theire charge) as in the timely dispatch of theire ships. . . And for the goods vended and bought in this factory, upon very disadvantagious termes, the merchants paying custome for what they buy and sell, we shall be able to effect more timely and to greater proffit, by landing our commodities in some place in Hugly River and transporting them to the inland marts, and from the places of manufacture procuring those commodities our masters require, which our sloopes may alsoe take aboard in the river and carry to Hugly.

It was presumed that the orders for Reade to pay his own expenses related only to his passage, as he was now employed in the Company's service. A suitable post would be found for Marshall, who had also arrived, but his appointment to Dacca was thought inadvisable, because 'his naturall modesty, calme disposition, and soft (though quick) utterance of speech render him not so proper for durbars such as that is, which requires audacity to encounter the insolence of the chubdars,[1] as well as villany of the other officers'. The permission given to Salisbury to repair to Bengal was noted with regret, for there were already too many senior servants there, and his arrival might cause disputes as to precedence. The action taken in regard to Stiles was vindicated and his reinstatement was announced. Hall had been summoned to consultations also, but had refused to come near the factory. Brodnax had given much trouble, and both he and Stiles had declined to proceed to the posts assigned them. They were evidently encouraged by the Agent's orders to Bridges not to send them back to the Coast. The Company, however, had not sanctioned their transfer to Bengal, and would not, it was believed, approve Foxcroft's actions in giving permission to all applicants to proceed thither, regardless of the consequences. 'Yet neither theire requests nor ours must prevaile for theire revocation, as if our masters had designed the Bay for their Ultima Thule.' The Agent was, therefore, again urged to recall Stiles, Brodnax, and Hall, or at least the two latter. One of their contentions was that the Hūgli, Kāsimbāzār, and Patna factories ought to be ranked in that order, 'and the Chiefes thereof accordingly precede one another'; the Seconds should follow in the same order, and likewise the Thirds. To this Bridges and his Council had objected, pointing out that 'married persons could not

[1] Pers. *chobdār*, a 'stick-bearer,' the usual attendants of high officials.

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repaire with theire wifes to Pattana', yet this ought not to inflict a loss of precedence on a married factor whose turn it was to go there. Moreover, 'for some employments wee must consider the persons most proper and experienced to discharge them,' and the old rule was that a factor retained his precedence, whatever his station.

The Chief gave them instances, that, at his first comeing to the Bay, the Chiefes of Cassumbuzar and Patana, Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Ken, preceded him, being Second of Hugly. After their departure he still continued Second, and then preceded Mr. Powell and Mr. Charnok, who succeeded them. Likewise that Mr. Blake had formerly the priority of Mr. Jearsey, and he now of Mr. Bridges, without reluctancy, it being an antient rule in our master[s] affaires that the Chiefe of longest standing, though of a factory of less business, shall bee first in precedence; according to which Mr. Ken, when Chiefe of Pattana, was ranck't before Mr. Sheldon. And that it was not to bee supposed, by the Agent and Councills appointing Mr. March to succeede Chiefe of Casumbuzar, they intended his preceding either Mr. Charnock or Mr. Clavell.

They contended, however, that this was irregular, and that Bridges ought to precede Jearsey, and March precede both Charnock and Clavell. So there would be endless disputes if these 'perverse and tergiversatious persons' were not removed.

Before this long epistle reached Madras, Foxcroft and his Council wrote (7 October) to Bengal, in answer to a missing letter of 24 July. They noted with regret the continuance and increase of disorders among the factors. The dismissal of Stiles and Hall was 'an usurpation of authority beyond your limitts', and no good reason could be seen for forcing the boxes on Blake. The latter had offered to consign all his goods to the Company at his return, and this, with the security formerly given, ought to suffice to meet all claims. He was also willing to pay into the Company's cash the remaining money he received from Pratt, and in that case he should be given a proper receipt. They insisted that Blake should not be hindered from proceeding to England in one of the ships then at Balasore, together with his family and his goods. The action of Brodnax and Hall in refusing to take up their appointed posts was severely censured, whatever their grievances were. It was understood that Stiles was willing to quit the service and return to England; if his

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covenanted period was up, he should be allowed to go. Details as to the lading of the two ships were next gone into, and a hint was given to the factors not to exceed the limits set to their borrowing. Permission to Charnock to build a small factory near Patna, at a cost not exceeding 5,000 rupees, might be granted, if Bridges and his Council were satisfied as to its necessity. No stick-lac should be allowed to be put into the ships, since the Company had forbidden it. As regards building a small vessel at Narsapur instead of at Hūgli, Jearsey would be consulted; but 'wee are informed that vessells are better built in the Bay, and at easier rates for materialls and workemen, then in these parts'. The *Diligence* and *Madras* must not be sent to the Coast, there being no use for them there. The refusal of some of Bridges's Council to obey orders was condemned (though he had himself given them 'a grand example'); but Foxcroft and his colleagues declined to recall Hall and Stiles and send them to England. The former, however, was at liberty to go home, if he so desired. Brodnax had proceeded from Masulipatam to Bengal without permission, and should be sent back thither.

Another letter from Madras (23 October) repeated the order for the transfer of Brodnax to the Coast and the refusal to recall Stiles and Hall. On 3 December we find an order sent to Brodnax to embark accordingly in the *John and Martha* for Masulipatam (*Factory Records, Hūgli*, vol. i. p. 33).

Meanwhile a long correspondence was taking place between Blake and Bridges concerning the settlement of the former's accounts, without any satisfactory result. On 21 October Hall demanded readmittance to the factory and the repayment of the expenses he had incurred owing to his exclusion. To this the Chief and Council replied next day that he might frequent the factory, but that there were no lodging rooms available and he would, therefore, be allowed house rent instead. As for his past disbursements, since these were occasioned by his refusal to go to Hūgli, they might be disallowed at Madras; if, however, he would undertake to refund it in that case, the money should be paid. Naturally a squabble followed as to the amount thus due. Later (8 December) an order was sent to him to repair to Patna and join the staff there, but to this he returned a flat refusal (*Factory Records, Hūgli*, vol. i. pp. 34, 35).

Blake had decided to proceed to England without delay, and the

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fear of being forced to go to Dacca increased his determination to depart without loss of time. He found a friend in Capt. Gough, the commander of the *John and Martha*, who declared his readiness to take him and his goods on board, in spite of every one. Hearing of this, Bridges summoned Gough and his purser to the factory and interrogated them, telling them that it was understood that Muhammad Amīn Khān's agent was sending persons down to demand from Blake Mu'azzam Khān's boxes, and that to assist him to escape would damage the Company's interests. The captain and purser both denied that they had any such intention (*O.C.* 3365). Nevertheless they assisted Blake to get secretly on board and they shipped his goods under their own names to prevent interference. Thereupon Bridges and his Council at once sent Blake a protest, holding him responsible for all consequences (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii. p. 110). Nemesis quickly overtook Gough; for, venturing on shore, he was seized by the Governor, imprisoned in irons in 'the Kings cutcharree [1] or court of judicature', and forced to sign an undertaking to produce Blake. Even then the Governor, who had stopped the supply of provisions, both to the factory and to the ships, would not release him unless Bridges would be his security and keep him in the English factory. Accordingly Gough wrote to the Chief (12 November), imploring him to give the required undertaking; which was done, and the prisoner transferred to the factory.[2] Gough's sailors then took a hand in the dispute and, under the command of the second mate, landed with threats of rescuing their commander by force. Bridges's determined attitude prevented an assault from being attempted (*O.C.* 3389); but (probably with the assent of the Governor) Gough was allowed to go on board his ship, which sailed on 11 December, taking Blake and his family with her. The *Antelope* had already departed ten days earlier.

The two ships carried letters from Bridges and his Council to the Company, one being dated 29 November and the other the following day. Of both we have only extracts, with the addition, in the case of the second, of the final page. From the materials available it appears that the letter of the 29th contained a long account of the

[1] Cutcherry, office of administration.

[2] Gough's undertaking to Bridges to abide by the agreement will be found at p. 109, vol. iii of *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*. For a narrative of Blake's escape see *ibid.*, p. 111.

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insubordination of Brodnax, Hall, and Stiles, and incidentally gave the reasons why Bridges and his Council had remained the whole year at Balasore instead of proceeding, as usual, to Hūgli. These were that the ships could not go up this year to that port, the necessary exploration of the channel having been foiled by the lateness of the season and the unfitness of the *Diligence* for that task: that the investments at Balasore had taken longer than usual: that the cost of travelling to and from Hūgli was high, and presents would have to be given if the Chief appeared there. Blake's refusal to pay the money claimed from him was also narrated; and then the writers passed on to matters of trade.

The sannoes, ginghams, etc. provided about this place cannot be made of lengths and breadths beyond those now sent, unles the price be augmented in a larger proportion then the dimensions; since use and custome amongst the weavers is not to be altered without a charge; they are soe tenacious of and addicted to the way they have bin brought upp in. The goods provided about Ballasore have for many yeares bin provided mostly with Europe commodityes, which were bartered to Hindoe merchants, who pay custome both for what they buy and sell to us; which hath entayled soe grand a prejudice on your affaires that it will be a peece of difficulty either to send out or bring in goods into this towne in our owne names, since both the Governour and merchants, to whom such contracts are benefitiall, will obstruct our commencinge another way of dealinge, and pretende it to have bin our custome (which hath the force of a lawe in these parts) to the contrary. Yet we had thoughts this yeare to have attempted the buying and sellinge our goods abroad (which would have bin 15 per cent. benefitt in buying the countrey manufacture, and 10 per cent. advance on the sales of the Europe commodityes), and are confident that there may be a foundation layd for your future benefitt, notwithstanding the opposition of the Governour and merchants.

This intention had been defeated by the insubordination of some of the factors, but after the departure of the ships the subject would be again considered. Endeavours would be made in future to dispatch the ships earlier, though there was not much hope of effecting this unless the captains could be induced to take in their cargoes at Hūgli. The *Diligence* carried some goods thither; but her sailing and steering proved so defective that she grounded repeatedly and was in danger of being upset by the tides. The *Madras* was then

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sent, with William Walters, their only capable pilot; however, she proved as defective as the *Diligence*. The Agent and Council had, therefore, been asked to build and send them two vessels more suitable. An annual supply of pilots and mariners was also necessary. The demand for European goods was small, and usually they were only taken in barter if 'a large proportion of money accompanies them'. The Company must, therefore, send three times as much money as goods, and provide funds for the investment a year in advance, since the stay of the ships was too short for much to be done in the time, especially as they arrived at a dead season, 'when the countrey is overflowne and noe investments to be made before their departure'. Unless funds were plentifully furnished, the expense of maintaining factories at five places, including Dacca, 'under the government of such harpie Nabobs and Governours', would consume most of their stock. Particulars of European goods likely to sell were then given. Copper usually fetched from 36 to 42 rupees per maund, but was for the moment at 50 rupees; while the price of tin (22 to 26 rupees per maund) was below its cost in England. A request was made for articles for presentation, stationery, 'blacke lead pens', beams, and weights, both avoirdupois and troy.

We have tryed to obtayne eight men and women slaves for St. Hellena, but cannot this yeare procure them; the natives seldome selling themselves or children, except in a famine, which (God be thanked) hath not this yeare happened to the countrey.

Particulars of the claims against Blake were forwarded; also replies to the auditor's queries (see pp. 114, 115 of the same volume). There had been much pilfering by the native boatmen in landing the goods and treasure,

notwithstanding Englishmen and peons came in the boat with them; for they contrived to ride with their boats without the barr a whole day and night together, exposeing the Englishmen and peons (who are not soe inured to the weather as themselves) to the winde, raine, cold, and hunger, pretending they could not (though they might well enough) come over the barr. When they gott into the river, they carried their boats beyond the barr towne before another small village, somethinge distant from the riverside, where there was nothing of food to be obtained for the Englishmen or peons, whilest themselves had their provisions with them,

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and compassionately invite the others to participate of their boyled rice att the towne; whether when they had drawne them, some of their complices deale with the treasure and goods.

The parcels were fastened up again so cleverly that it was not till later that the thefts were discovered. Thereupon the boatmen were 'imprisoned, iron'd, and severely chastised', with the result that they engaged to make good the losses, though in the end this was only partially done. The Governor took the part of the boatmen and contrived the escape of some of the chief offenders. He had promised to deal with the matter judicially, but owing to his illness nothing more had yet been done.

The letter of 30 November announced that Powell had succeeded in borrowing 65,000 rupees at Kāsimbāzār against bills drawn on the Company. Charges against Blake were enclosed, and Bridges and Stiles undertook to sustain these upon oath, if called upon. The recent disturbances were imputed to Blake and his supporters, who had made untrue charges against Bridges in their correspondence with Madras.

By the same conveyance Stiles, Hall, and Brodnax wrote home, justifying themselves and accusing Bridges, Reade, and others; while Vincent sent his testimony on the other side. These letters, if any one desires to learn more of the squabbles, will be found in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii. pp. 102–5, 119, 124, and in vol. xiii of the same series, which is wholly composed of the papers forwarded by Stiles.

Extracts are also available (*ibid.*, pp. 107, 108) from two letters sent by Bridges and his Council to Madras by the same two ships. The first (30 November) denied any intention of preventing Blake from quitting the country, but at the same time protested that his departure without settling the dispute concerning the boxes was likely to be extremely prejudicial to the Company's interests. The second (12 December) explained the request formerly made for permission to rebuild the house at 'Singee' (see p. 304).

Pattana itselfe is not a place to manage the peter trade in; yet, that being the residence of the Nabob that governes that countrey, the Chiefe must sometymes repaire thither, and alwayes keepe a vikeel to sollicite the Companies busines. If the factory be without the cittie, nigh the place where the peter is made, the convenience will be very great in encreasing the investments and

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securing the peetermen from selling what we have bought of them to others, and the charge lesse then to reside att Pattana; for by building of a new house there will not arrise a double charge of maintaininge two factoryes, but the expenses of the old one mittigated. We had almost omitted to acquaint you that the Mier Jumlahs boxes were left remayninge by Mr. Blake in his dwelling house, which now is emptied of all things but them and will shortly, as we understand, be relinquist and the boxes lye open, without any looking after, to any person that will enter into an open house. We doe not thinke it safe for the Companye for us to medle with, looke after, or take them away.

For any ill consequences that might ensue, the Madras authorities must be held responsible, since it was they who had insisted upon Blake being allowed to leave.

We have further a long letter which Bridges and his colleagues sent overland to the Company on 31 December. This said that the cargo of the *Antelope* was invoiced at 58,231 rupees and that of her consort at 90,903 rupees. Saltpetre to the amount of 1,620 maunds was still on its way down, and would be kept until the arrival of the next fleet. Other investments were well in hand; but there was little demand for their European goods. A list showing the quantities of these to be supplied in future was forwarded. The escape of Blake was next referred to, and it was stated that Foxcroft had been asked to make him either return himself or appoint an attorney to answer all demands.[1]

As yet wee heare nothing from Decca how the Nabob rescents the flight; but wee have lately received the sence of our fellow servants in the inland factorys, who express no small feares of the bad consequences that may succeed on this action. . . . The first and maine brunt and burthen of the business will fall upon us, who, wee beleive, shall bee enordred up to Decca to give an accompt and make delivery of the parcells; which wee doe not question but to evade till an answer from the Coast to our advises by the ships. But much longer wee cannot expect to thrive in delayes; for if Mr. Blake bee not sent, or his attorney, within 3 or 4 monthes, wee question a possibility of obtayneing a dispensation from

[1] Foxcroft and his Council at first resolved to require Blake to give security to make good any losses resulting from his departure; but on his refusing to do this, they allowed him to proceed to England on his own responsibility (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii. p. 119).

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visitting the court or our appeareing there to conclude the delivery of the boxes under a great charge and disgrace.[1]

The *Diligence* and the *Madras* had been dispatched to Hūgli with goods, &c., ' but chiefly to make discovery of the channels betweene this and the 20th February, being the best and only season for that worke'. William Bramston, who had been in the Company's service until Blake discharged him, and who had an ' indifferent knowledge already of the river ', had been placed in charge of the *Madras*; while gratuities of 10*l*. each had been promised to him and to William Walters, the master of the *Diligence*, ' for every ship they shall carry up above the Ile of Cox,[2] and to mediate [with] Your Worships for an augmentation of theire sallerys'. Bramston was confident of carrying up the next fleet, but the commanders must have positive orders to attempt it or they would refuse. If the captains of freighted ships would not undertake to obey orders from the Chief and Council to that effect, pilots being appointed, then the Company would do well to provide ships of their own, whose captains would have no choice. Complaint was made that the commanders of the freighted ships were ' arrogant and insolent ', and the behaviour of Gough was instanced. Not only had he carried off Blake, but he stopped the saltpetre boats from going aboard the *Antelope*, ' till Capt. Golsborough [3] was constrayned to fetch them away by force ', and he carried off some of the saltpetre intended for that vessel, in spite of orders to the contrary. Finally, Bridges and his Council announced their intention to proceed shortly to Hūgli, ' and wholy to

[1] The end of the boxes is recorded in a consultation of 28 May, 1670 (*Factory Records, Hūgli*, vol. i. p. 41): ' The late fire at Ballasore having, togather with the most part of the towne and Mr. Blakes dwellinghouse, consumed the Mier Jumlahs parcells.'

[2] Cock's Island, formerly the midmost of a group of three, now amalgamated by deposit into the modern Saugor Island

[3] This suggests that Goldsborough was in command of the *Antelope*. We know that her commander, John Andrews, died seven days after her arrival at Balasore (*O.C.* 3385); presumably Goldsborough was his chief mate and succeeded to his post. Upon the stir caused by Blake's escape, Bridges and his Council, convinced that they would be called to Dacca, sent an order to ' Capt. John Goldsborough ' to accompany them, on the ground that he was well acquainted with ' the Indostan language ' and conversant with the facts regarding the boxes in dispute (*O.C.* 3363); but the storm blew over. Evidently Goldsborough went home in the *Antelope*, for in February 1671 he made an application to the Company concerning a mulct paid as private trade goods. There are new facts in the history of the man who afterwards became Sir John Goldsborough, Supervisor, Commissary-General, and Chief Governor of all the Indian factories (1692), and (1693) Captain-General, Commander-in-Chief, and Director

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draw the negotiations of this factory thither, if wee can procure the shipps to proceed into that river'. A postscript begged the Company to send wine and mum specially for the Bay, apart from that provided for the Coast.

Concerning March's proceedings at Dacca we hear little. His instructions, dated 16 April (*O.C.* 3265), referred to the necessity of placating the Nawāb Shāista Khān, with a view to the redress of the factors' grievances. On arrival at Dacca March was to secure 'James,'[1] who had been found negligent and expensive, if not treacherous, and send him down in fetters. To the Nawāb he was, at his first interview, to offer seven 20*s.* gold pieces and nine rupees, and to represent the goodwill of the English and their peaceable behaviour; adding that, although the trade of the Dutch might be larger at the moment than theirs, they hoped in a few years, if properly treated, to increase their dealings materially. Presents should be given to the various officials, besides the one intended for the Nawāb himself. An endeavour should be made to secure exemption from the payment yearly of 3,000 rupees to the Governor of Hūgli, asserting that this was first exacted by 'Mameet Xurife' [Muhammad Sharīf], and had since been extorted by his successors, 'contrary to our priviledges'; while 'this last yeer they have augmented it by an addition of rupees [ ] batta'. The Nawāb should be assured that the factors were not concerned in Pratt's flight, of which they knew nothing. He had borrowed 1,500 rupees from them when going to Dacca, and assigned as security his sloop and some saltpetre, which the Governor of Hūgli afterwards seized upon; satisfaction should be sought for this, and all responsibility for Pratt should be denied, since he 'had renounc't his relligion and was become Portughise'. Grievances against the Dutch, on account of their attacks on English shipping at Balasore and their claim to a piece of ground there, belonging formerly to Manoel Wharton (see p. 168), were enumerated, and redress should be sought. A new *parwāna* should be solicited, of which a draft was furnished. We know that March, accompanied by Smith, reached Dacca in safety, apparently towards the end of May. On 12 July he wrote to Edwards, saying that 'bussiness goes on soe slowly in this cursed durbar that I feer 'twill be the latter end of this month (if not the

[1] Apparently the James Price mentioned in several earlier volumes. He is found later at Balasore (see the narrative of Blake's escape).

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begining of the next) before I shall be able to leave this place'. That he was back in Kāsimbāzār by 24 November is shown by a letter of that date from Edwards to Smith, who was still at Dacca (*O.C.* 3370); and the letter of 29 November already quoted says that

Mr. John March, about the beginninge of this moneth, returned from Decca to Cassumbazar to take the Chiefeshipp of that factory, as appointed by the Agent and Councell. The Nabob had bin sicke for upwards of a moneth before his leaving Decca; soe that he could seldome meet with an opportunity to make further applications to him. Yet he procured and sent us a phirwanna on the Governour of this place, enorderinge his causing restitution to be made us by the Dutch for the damages sustained from them during the warrs; which we have demanded his complyance in. He answers us the businesse cannot be ended here, for the Dutch Directore resides att Hughly; therefor we must endeavour to obtayne a phirwanna on the Governour of that place; by which wee perceave that the Dutch are soe awfull by their power to these people, and prevalent with them by bribes, that we shall never be able to have justice executed for us against them till Your Worships bring your passe into esteeme att sea and augment the trade on the shoare.

It may be noted that copies of a *parwāna* from Shāista Khān, dated 1669, are entered in a list of *farmans*, &c., extant in August, 1714, but without any hint of its contents (Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 184, 185, 187).

A letter from Constantin Ranst, the Dutch Director at Hūgli, dated 1 January, 1670 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxix. no. 754), gives some interesting particulars concerning the proceedings of the English factors. The efforts of the latter to secure compensation for the saltpetre captured by the Dutch had produced a *parwāna* to the Governor of Balasore to ascertain whether the saltpetre was taken in the river or at sea; but nothing further had been heard of the matter, and it was hoped that the presents lately sent by the Dutch to Shāista Khān would stifle any further inquiry. The presents offered by the English to the Nawāb had induced him to forgo his intention of obliging them to pay four per cent. customs duty; so they would continue to pay merely 3,000 rupees per annum. The quarrel between Bridges and Blake, and the escape of the latter, are then narrated, and it is stated that, to satisfy the

Governor and prevent the detention of the two ships, Bridges was obliged to give an undertaking to make good anything found to be missing from Mu'azzam Khān's boxes.

The *Antelope* and *John and Martha* reached England in the middle of July, 1670. In the following October Capt. Gough was dismissed by the Company for the part he had played in Blake's escape. The latter, after a long dispute, found himself involved in a lawsuit with his late employers, which terminated about January, 1675, in a verdict against him on several points.

In a letter of 7 December, 1669, the Company authorized Bridges to come home, in accordance with a request received from him, and appointed Powell to succeed him. He returned accordingly in the *Rainbow*, which left Madras in January, 1671.

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